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Abstract: This article offers the first comprehensive study of Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Latin 182, a twelfth-century codex formerly belonging to (and possibly produced at) the Benedictine Abbey of (Mönchen-)Gladbach in Germany. I begin with a full codicological and palaeographical analysis of the entire manuscript, before moving on to a discussion of its contents. These include the Venerable Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* and the *Continuatio Bedae*, as well as two hagiographical works copied at the end of the manuscript. I then propose a new possible context of reception for Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* during the twelfth century, one that interlinked with the prevalent discourses on secular ecclesiastical lordship and monastic reform at Gladbach, as well as, perhaps, in Germany more widely. In doing so, I essentially argue for the possibility that the Gladbach scribes and their audiences may have used and understood the *Historia ecclesiastica* not only in the conventional context of 'history' and 'historiography', but also (and perhaps equally important) as an example of the 'golden age' of monasticism, which during the later twelfth century was re-framed and re-contextualised as both a spiritual guide and a source of miracle stories.

Keywords: manuscripts; palaeography; codicology; medieval Germany; miracles; monastic reform

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(Re-)Framing Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* in twelfth-century Germany:
John Rylands Library, MS Latin 182

Introduction and context

MS Latin 182 is a manuscript that is as fascinating as it is uncharted. As one of more than five hundred Western manuscripts held today by the John Rylands Library in Manchester, it is known chiefly for containing a copy of the Venerable Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, a medieval 'bestseller' originally written in Northumbria during the eighth century and surviving in more than one hundred and sixty manuscripts produced both in England and on the Continent.¹ In terms of script and material preparation, MS Latin 182 embodies the highest standards of twelfth-century book production. The manuscript is exceptional in several ways: first of all, it is preserved in its original twelfth-century binding, albeit with subsequent restorations and repairs. What is more, MS Latin 182, unlike so many contemporary manuscripts, offers relatively firm (if somewhat ambiguous) evidence concerning its date and wider geographical provenance, as well as holding important clues about its early ownership, both of which will be subjected to renewed scrutiny in the course of this article. Studying MS Latin 182 in all its different facets therefore has the potential to shed new and important light on the medieval reception of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, as well as on the particular historical context(s) that might have shaped this reception. So far, this potential has not been fully exploited.

I begin with a brief account of the manuscript's transmission. The codex now known as MS Latin 182 was first remarked upon in print in 1754, when it was listed in volume one of the monumental literary history of the Benedictine Order compiled by two travelling monk-historians from Germany, Magnoald Ziegelbauer and Oliver Legipont.² Ziegelbauer and Legipont appear to have seen the book in its former (and presumably original) home, the Benedictine Abbey of St Vitus founded in 974 in (Mönchen-)Gladbach, Germany. The important question as to how long this manuscript had been in the possession of Gladbach's monks by the time that Ziegelbauer and Legipont saw it during the mid-1750s, or even whether it might have been produced in-house by one of the abbey's medieval scribes, is more difficult to answer, and I shall come back to this in the next section of this article. About half a century before Ziegelbauer and Legipont, two French Benedictine scholars, Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, had visited Gladbach and inspected its monastic library. In their detailed travel journal, Martène and Durand describe the abbey's library as one of the finest in the entire country, and they report having studied several of its books with great interest during their three-day stint at Gladbach in October 1718.³ Amongst the selection of books listed as particularly noteworthy in Martène and Durand's *Voyage littéraire*, we do not find a copy of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* that can be identified with the codex known today as MS Latin 182.⁴ Similarly, our manuscript does not match any of the twenty-two books that were inventoried three generations later by one of Gladbach's own monks,

Augustinus Raves. Raves compiled his list in great haste in 1792, when the monks of Gladbach resorted to burying their most treasured books and possessions in order to save them from being looted by the approaching French soldiers.⁵ Once the French army had departed, the books were unearthed and restored to their former place in the monastery's library, only to be confiscated three years later by a pair of French commissioners. On 4 January 1795, these two commissioners, who in their report identify themselves as Véron and Gancel, commandeered a total of twenty-five books from Gladbach, all of which they list meticulously.⁶ Fortunately for us, and, of course, for the monks, the books that Véron and Gancel removed from the monastic library (many of which are now classified as lost) did not contain any copies of Bede's works. On 8 September 1801, in the year before the abbey's dissolution, the German librarian and later professor of ancient philology at Cologne, Bernhard Constantin von Schoenebeck, compiled a list of no fewer than seven hundred and fifty-two books, manuscripts as well as printed volumes, which by that point had been extracted from Gladbach's monastic library by the French authorities. Schoenebeck's list features four volumes containing works of Bede (*Venerabilis Bedae opera*), but these were all printed books dating from the mid-sixteenth century, rather than medieval manuscripts.⁷

It would appear, therefore, that the monks of Gladbach were able to protect MS Latin 182 not only from the onslaught of the French army in 1792, but also from the subsequent confiscations during the years 1795–1801. We can thus conclude that the book formed part of Gladbach's library from at least the mid-seventeenth century right up until the monastery's dissolution in 1802.⁸ As for the period prior to Ziegelbauer and Legipont's visit in 1754, this is detailed in my discussion below. After 1802, the manuscript seems to have changed hands several times until it was purchased at auction by the English antiquarian and bibliophile, Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872), from whose estate it was acquired by the Rylands Library in 1910.⁹ Thus having found its new (and current) home in Manchester at the beginning of the twentieth century, the manuscript was catalogued and described fully for the first time by Montague Rhodes James, who in 1921 gave it its present shelfmark.¹⁰ The most detailed description of MS Latin 182 to date is that provided by Raymund Kottje and Ernst Manfred Wermter in 1998, even though most recent studies still seem to rely on James' much shorter catalogue entry.¹¹ Since its publication in James's catalogue, MS Latin 182 has attracted scholarly (as well as public) attention thanks primarily to the exhibitions that celebrated the various anniversaries of the Abbey of St Vitus in Gladbach during the second half of the twentieth century, several of which led to publications in the form of catalogues or collected essays.¹² The majority of these primarily concern themselves with the manuscript's visual and/or aesthetic qualities, namely by showcasing it as part of Gladbach's medieval book treasure (or *Bücherschatz*), therefore paying relatively little attention to the reception of its textual contents and its use as a material object. From an editorial perspective, MS Latin 182 was recorded in Bertram Colgrave and Roger Mynors's 1969 edition of the *Historia ecclesiastica* as one of eight manuscript copies that contain what is known as the *Continuatio Bedae* (see below), but it does

not seem to have informed their collation and critical edition of the text.¹³ Generally speaking, the reception of Bede's work(s) in twelfth-century Germany has thus far received little attention.¹⁴ A detailed study of MS Latin 182 such as the one offered here may contribute to demonstrating the historical significance of that reception and offer a useful reference point for future scholarship on the *Historia ecclesiastica* and its manuscripts.

Until relatively recently, scholarship on the medieval reception of the *Historia ecclesiastica* and the use of its manuscripts has often focused on concepts of 'history' or 'historical writing' in the narrower sense, for example, by situating the text as an authoritative stylistic model and operational framework for twelfth-century historians such as William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon and Orderic Vitalis, who explicitly styled themselves as Bede's successors and continuators. Scholars including Antonia Gransden, Ralph Davis and Diana Greenway have departed from such traditional lines of interpretation by exploring a number of alternative (or rather supplementary) contexts for Bede's *chef-d'œuvre*.¹⁵ Their works have enriched our understanding of the *Historia ecclesiastica*'s reception and use during the central and later Middle Ages significantly, allowing more recent scholarship to venture one step further and explore additional, and increasingly more wide-ranging, contexts.¹⁶ Generally speaking, the most compelling arguments in favour of such re-contextualisation have been those that rely not solely on textual evidence, but also take into account the manuscript tradition and the material nature of the text(s). A good example is Teresa Webber's recent investigation of the *Historia ecclesiastica* as a source of hagiographical lections.¹⁷ Studying more than thirty extant copies of the *Historia ecclesiastica* made in England between the late tenth and late twelfth century, Webber showcases the significance of marginal lection marks (that is, roman numerals corresponding to the lections of the night office) as indicators of the manuscripts' aural contexts of reception. What is more, she is able to connect and relate these contexts of reception to specific monastic communities, including Peterborough (St Oswald) and Canterbury (both Christ Church and St Augustine's). Webber convincingly suggests that these English monastic communities during the eleventh and twelfth centuries found an application for the *Historia ecclesiastica* as a source for public reading, more specifically, the reading of the night office (matins), as well as the readings delivered in the refectory at mealtimes.¹⁸ Such liturgical applications of medieval historiography – and the mutual relationship between medieval history and liturgy more generally – have become a prominent field of study during the last decades.¹⁹ Indeed, it has been suggested that Bede's conceptual model for historical writing as embodied in the *Historia ecclesiastica* was adopted and imitated by twelfth-century historians like Orderic Vitalis in such a way as to render it an integral part of the monastic routine, namely by integrating the task of writing history into the divine service (*cultus divinus*) and celebrating it by means of silent contemplation and prayer.²⁰

In this article, I would like to add to this existing corpus of re-readings and re-interpretations by suggesting one further possible application for Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* in twelfth-century

Germany, with particular reference to the situation at Gladbach. Following a detailed codicological and contextual study of MS Latin 182, I will argue for the possibility that the Gladbach scribes and their audiences may have read and understood the *Historia ecclesiastica* not only in the conventional context of ‘history’ and ‘historiography’ – as it had been defined by both Bede himself and, perhaps even more famously, by Isidore of Seville –,²¹ but also (and perhaps equally important) as an example of the ‘golden age’ of monasticism, which during the later twelfth century was re-framed and re-contextualised as both a spiritual guide and a source of miracle stories. In doing this, I do not aim to offer a substitute for the contexts of reception argued for in existing scholarship, rather a supplement. Indeed, the relationship between the *Historia ecclesiastica* and miracle stories has already been explored on several occasions, primarily in the context of the text’s original design and composition.²² My concern here is not, however, the way in which Bede himself conceptualised such miracle stories whilst weaving them into his historical account, nor his self-fashioning as an eighth-century historian.²³ Instead, I focus on miracle stories and hagiographical discourse only insofar as they can be related to the potential use and reception of the *Historia ecclesiastica* in twelfth-century Germany.

For reasons of space, I concentrate mainly on those manuscript copies of the *Historia ecclesiastica* and its continuation that were produced within the ‘textual province’ of Germany roughly around the same time as MS Latin 182.²⁴ These will be supplemented on occasion by evidence derived from selected manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. To facilitate cross-referencing, I use the following manuscript *sigla* throughout this article:

*C*₁ = Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS B 220 (210)

*C*₂ = Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS B 818 (723)

L = Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek (Leihgabe Leipziger Stadtbibliothek), MS Repr. I 58a

P = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Lat. 18134

V = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Cod. 13707

I commence my study with a full codicological and palaeographical analysis of MS Latin 182, the first of its kind to appear in published form, before moving on to its main content(s), the *Historia ecclesiastica* and *Continuatio Bedae*. This is followed by a discussion of two historiographical texts copied at the very end of the manuscript, the *Visio Wettini* and *De duobus clericis*. The article’s third and final section interprets MS Latin 182 and its contents within the wider context of monastic self-governance and ecclesiastical lordship, especially as regards the relationship between monastic reform and episcopal and/or secular influence, which will then be linked more specifically to the political situation at Gladbach during the twelfth century. Due to spatial constraints, transcriptions and images of the manuscripts have been transferred into the Appendices found at the end of this article.

In terms of its scribal and material preparation, MS Latin 182 is a fine specimen of twelfth-century German book production.²⁵ The codex measures 280 × 190 mm, with the parchment now slightly protruding over the book boards along the fore edge due to a lack of compression caused by the loss of the clasps (Fig. 1). Otherwise the boards sit flush with the book block. The sewing consists of a herringbone stitch along three equally-spaced sewing stations, which might suggest the use of a sewing frame.²⁶ The binding is in essence original, including the wooden boards and their heavily-worn covering in tawed (or alum-tawed) skin, both of which have been affected by bookworms in places identical to the damage exhibited on the internal sheets of parchment. The skin has been stretched tightly around the wooden boards and sewn together on the inside (stitched mitred corners).²⁷ Judging by a series of nail holes, each board once had a round centre boss and four corner bosses.²⁸ The remains of two fastening clasps or straps survive on the back board, consisting of square brass fittings (16 × 16 mm) that have been fixed with copper nails and decorated with a punched cross in the centre and a dotted line along the edges (Fig. 2). Rather than being fixed on the front of the board, these fastenings sat on the edge. All known examples of such Romanesque edge fastenings originate in Germany,²⁹ which is consistent with the other evidence for the manuscript's early ownership history. The corresponding fittings on the front board are missing. Underneath the rear fittings survive the remains of the two straps. These are constructed from parchment that has been rolled tightly and flatted/compressed before being wrapped with a piece of alum-tawed skin. The wrapping shows traces of pink pigment, probably cochineal. The same combination of alum-tawed skin and cochineal dye can also be found on the endband of MS Latin 182, which shows both primary and secondary sewing. For the primary sewing, linen thread was used around a core of rolled parchment (similar to the straps), followed by a secondary sewing using pink alum-tawed skin in a technique that is representative of a sizeable corpus of similar braided endbands from twelfth-century Germany (Fig. 1). Taken together, the once bright pink endband and straps would have created a delicate colourful highlight that stood out from the fair and smooth tawed-skin covering.

The manuscript underwent several stages of restoration and repair (completed before James's examination in 1921), as is still visible on the book boards, the binding and, in particular, along the spine. The parchment has been trimmed severely in two places (fos 83r–v and 86r–v, which together form a double sheet or bifolium), resulting in the loss of several letters or parts thereof. It is possible, and indeed likely, that this trimming occurred prior to the binding process, when the bifolium was still a loose sheet. Originally, MS Latin 182 appears to have consisted of twenty-two quires of eight folia (or four bifolia) each, three of which are now incomplete due to the loss of one or more sheets of parchment (i.e., fos 99v–100r, 165v–166r, 166v–167r, 169r–176v, I discuss the corresponding textual lacunae below). These losses together have resulted in the current quire structure (12 × IV + IV-1 + 7 × IV + IV-2).³⁰ The sheets of parchment have been ruled individually using a plummet or lead point

(the corresponding pin pricks are clearly visible along the vertical edge of most folia), with thirty-one lines arranged in two columns (each 63 mm wide, with a gap of 11 mm down the middle). From a physical point-of-view, the codex shows surprisingly few signs of usage – an observation that is consistent with the palaeographical evidence (see below). There are, however, some levels of wear and tear on the outside of the codex (cover, spine, etc.), as well as internally (e.g., the shiny parchment edges and the manual abrasion of parts of the pigment and plummet ruling). Precisely when these occurred, and just how (in-)frequently the book was used, is impossible to determine. At the beginning of the *Historia ecclesiastica*'s Books 1 and 2 (fos 3r–v, 32r–v), we can see physical 'navigation' or 'finding aids' in the shape of little parchment strips. These were produced not from external material, but by slicing the book's existing parchment vertically from the top right corner. The resulting strip was then bent down and threaded through the page at a 90° angle following a small vertical incision, thereby forming an 'earmark' that protrudes between the pages on the fore edge.

The high quality of the manuscript's material preparation is reflected by that of its scribal work. MS Latin 182 is the product of a single scribe writing in a regular, well-trained hand, the features of which are largely consistent with late twelfth-century conventions.³¹ Similar (though not completely identical) hands can be found in other manuscripts kept (and in several cases produced) at Gladbach during the twelfth century, and I return to this below. Regionally distinctive features of the hand that produced MS Latin 182 include: the angular, off-centre lower compartment of minuscule 'g' (which is mirrored by that in several other manuscripts from the same region); the curved, quiff-like backstroke on minuscule round 'd' curling around the letter's main compartment; the extremely fine execution of the two diagonal strokes that form the tail (*cauda*) of the 'e caudata' (which is used in place of '-ae' and '-ae-' throughout), as well as the sharp upward tick sometimes found on the descender of minuscule 'p' and the feet on minuscule 'm' and 'n' (less consistent). The feet on these minims all turn firmly to the right, and the vast majority of them are executed with a fine angular tick from bottom left to top right, thus potentially pointing to a date towards the end of the twelfth century. As Erik Kwakkel has shown on the basis of a corpus of more than 360 closely datable manuscripts (including a sizeable proportion of German manuscripts), the use of what he calls 'Gothic-style' minims (that is, minims whose feet are consistently turning to the right) first came into general use in Germany, Austria and Switzerland in c.1105–19, but quickly went into decline again from about 1149 onwards. Not until c.1194–1224 was there a renewed (and this time permanent) increase in the usage of these minims in Germany.³² It should be said, however, that other characteristics of the handwriting, and of the major initials, would allow for a somewhat wider dating within the second half of the twelfth century. Without putting too much weight on the evidence of a singular criterion, the treatment of the base of minim strokes still suggests a narrower dating towards the end of the century. Similarly, there are no clear cases of fusion between letters (often referred to as 'biting'), as their strokes are still clearly separated from one another. According to Kwakkel, such 'biting' (except for '-bb-' and '-pp-', both of which reach the 50 per cent

mark as early as c.1150–64) did not occur with any notable frequency (≥ 30 per cent) in German manuscripts until c.1195–1209.³³ Taken together, this might allow us to locate MS Latin 182 in the second half of the twelfth century, likely the fourth quarter.

The same scribe appears to have executed the entirety of the textual production *manu propria*. Not only did he copy all of the main contents (see the sections below), but he also inserted ‘key letters’ to indicate the rubrication of chapter numbers and/or initials (e.g., fos 7r–v, 11r, 18r–v, etc.), wrote the quire marks (fos 8v, 16v, 24v, 32v, 40v, 48v, 56v, 64v, 72v, 80v, 88v, 96v, *102v, *110v, *118v, *126v, *134v, *142v, *150v, *158v, [**168v and **176v are missing due to lacunae]) and provided templates for the first line of each new section/quire written into the page margins (e.g., fos 3v, 31v, 32r, 56v, etc.).³⁴ Indeed, an analysis and comparison of the ductus and letter forms in both the rubrics (written in minuscule) and the main text strongly suggests that scribe and rubricator were in fact one and the same person (e.g., the opening rubric for the *Historia ecclesiastica*’s first book on the top of fol. 4r). (Fig. 3) This would also serve to explain the nature of the mistakes in the numbering and rubrication of individual chapters (see below). Generally speaking, however, the scribe/rubricator was extremely well trained and had at his disposal a substantial repertoire of letter forms that he used confidently throughout both the main text and the decoration. This can be seen on fos 6v–7r, where he employs no fewer than five different variations of majuscule ‘A’ in the minor decorated initials, as well as on fos 9v–10r, which show three more variations of the same letter. A smaller script is used for the list(s) of chapter headings that preface the *Historia ecclesiastica*’s individual books (e.g., fos 3r, 31v–32r); these, too, appear to have been written by the same hand (cf. minuscule ‘p’ and ‘g’), but they display some decorative features not found in the main text. These include the elaborate ascenders on (long) minuscule ‘s/l’, ‘d’, ‘(t)h’, ‘f’ and ‘l’, which are reminiscent of the script used in contemporary diplomata.³⁵

There are conspicuously few signs of textual correction throughout the manuscript. The majority of the scribal additions/corrections (either interlinear or in the page margins) are post-medieval, except for those introduced by the scribe himself (e.g., fos 2r, 10r, 128v), all of which seem to have been undertaken during the actual copying process. There is a handful of erasures, including the rubric for Book 1, Chapter 2 (fol. 5v, see discussion below), the word ‘concubina’ (fol. 9v),³⁶ the correction from ‘transitorheno[sic]’ to ‘transito rheno’ (fol. 10r),³⁷ the amendment of an imperial date (fol. 12r),³⁸ as well as a few grammatical rectifications (e.g., fol. 23v, line 14). It is peculiar to find a scribe from Gladbach (if this is indeed MS Latin 182’s place of origin) not recognising the Latinised name of the River Rhine, given that the abbey was located less than 30 km from this vital waterway, which was and still is one of the region’s most important arteries. As far as the manuscript’s usage is concerned, all we have are a few marginal nota monograms (e.g., fos 22v, 35r), as well as, perhaps, a few ‘drypoint marks’ in the form of little crosses scratched into the face of the parchment using a stylus in order to mark a particular passage of text (e.g., fos 22v and 41r).³⁹ Judging by their palaeographical

properties, these nota monograms are likely to have been inserted within a generation or two of the manuscript's production, but dating the blind markers with any level of certainty is impossible.

Before moving on to the next section of my analysis, I would like to (re)turn briefly, and by way of summary, to an important question that was raised at the beginning of this article. What evidence is there, then, to support the common attribution of MS Latin 182 to the twelfth-century library and/or scriptorium of Gladbach, and can the codicological and palaeographical analysis provided above shed new light on the discussion? With regard to the period prior to 1754, the year of Ziegelbauer and Legipont's visit to Gladbach, the documentary evidence is much scarcer than in later centuries. Our manuscript is attested firmly as being in Gladbach's possession by the sixteenth century, when it received an *ex libris* reading *Liber monasterii s[an]cti monasterii s[an]cti Viti m[arty]ris in Gladbach* (Fig. 4). Unfortunately, the earliest book lists to survive from Gladbach are those discussed earlier in this article, all of which date from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. No such book list or inventory survives from the monastery's twelfth-century library, meaning that we will have to rely on other kinds of evidence.⁴⁰ Some of these have been mentioned already in this section, including the manuscript's conspicuous Romanesque edge fastenings and braided endbands, both of which seem to point to an origin in twelfth-century Germany, as well as the 'Gothic-style' minims and the lack of fusion (or 'biting') between letters written by the scribe's hand, which again are typical characteristics of German manuscript production during the closing decades of the twelfth century. Whilst it seems safe to assume, therefore, that we are dealing with a German manuscript, what evidence is there to link MS Latin 182 more specifically to the Abbey of Gladbach prior to the sixteenth century?

A possible hint might be found in one of the details of Ziegelbauer and Legipont's travel journal, which reports that the books kept in Gladbach's library were stored on the shelves with their spines facing the wall, and thus pointing away from the reader. Written on the fore edge of each book was a combination of a key letter (A–R) and a number, which together served to indicate the book's subject matter, classed roughly into 'textual' categories, along with the book's precise location on the respective shelf.⁴¹ This is precisely what can still be seen on the fore edge of MS Latin 182 (Fig. 5), which, curiously, classifies the book under 'B' ('SS. Patres et Concilia'), rather than 'P' ('Historici'), and which might well indicate that, by the time the manuscript was produced, Bede had come to be regarded primarily as a patristic authority, and only secondarily as a historian. Even though there is no way of knowing precisely when the library system reported by Ziegelbauer and Legipont had been established at Gladbach, it seems reasonable to assume that it must have been in place for quite a while. The letter forms of the signature on the fore edge of MS Latin 182, as well as those on other eleventh- and twelfth-century books formerly belong to the monastery, certainly point to a medieval date, rather than to the sixteenth or seventeenth century, but pin-pointing them to a particular century is impossible. Somewhat more compelling evidence for the manuscript's potential provenance might be found in a comparison between the hand of its main scribe and those of other manuscripts known to have been

produced in Gladbach's scriptorium during the second half of the twelfth century.⁴² It must be said that my survey of the manuscripts in question, some of which could only be accessed through (sometimes fragmentary) reproductions, has not revealed a precise match with the hand that wrote MS Latin 182. Some of the most similar hands, similar enough perhaps to suggest that their scribes might have been trained together with the scribe of MS Latin 182, are those found in Gladbach's copy of Albertus Aquensis's *Historia Hierosolymitana* (today Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS Lat. fol. 677, c.1140-55), Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob* (Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, MS W 269 I-III, cent. 12^{med}) and Bernard of Clairvaux's *Sermones de tempore* (Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, MS GB 4° 224, cent. 12^{ex}).

When taken in isolation, these palaeographical similarities are probably too ambiguous to allow for a confident identification of MS Latin 182 as a product of Gladbach's twelfth-century scriptorium. When combined with the other indicators discussed above, however, they might indeed lend further probability to this tentative attribution. The same holds true, though perhaps to a slightly lesser degree, for the manuscript's decoration. As scholars have long recognised, the monastic scriptorium at Gladbach, despite its being extremely prolific in terms of its textual production, regularly relied on external artists for the decoration of its books, first and foremost the celebrated illuminators from the nearby 'school of Cologne'.⁴³ Products of these Cologne-based artists commissioned by the monks of Gladbach during the later eleventh and twelfth centuries can still be found in reasonable numbers amongst the abbey's surviving manuscripts.⁴⁴ Based on stylistic comparisons, MS Latin 182 does not seem to have been decorated by the illuminators of Great St Martin, with whom the monks of Gladbach shared a rather difficult relationship due to political developments around the turn of the first millennium (in respect of which see my discussion below). Rather, our manuscript's decoration, especially the six large coloured initials combining foliation (*Rankeninitialen*) and animal motifs (fos 1v, 4r, 32r, 56v, 90v and 124v), exhibits noticeable stylistic similarities with the elaborate decoration of Gladbach's abovementioned copy of the *Historia Hierosolymitana* by Albertus Aquensis, which is widely held to have been produced in-house c.1140-55.⁴⁵ The execution of the outlines for the initials in MS Latin 182 and their delicate application of colour further mirror those found in a large *Biblia Sacra* that was produced at Gladbach during the later eleventh century (Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, MS W 277 I-II),⁴⁶ as well as, to a lesser degree, those in the abovementioned mid-twelfth-century copy of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*.⁴⁷ Indeed, some of the similarities between the decoration of these manuscripts and MS Latin 182 are so strong that a shared place of origin should be assumed. Perhaps the single most striking similarity in terms of decoration, however, is that between the large foliated initial 'B' used in MS Latin 182 for the opening of the *Historia ecclesiastica*'s first book (Fig. 3) and the even larger foliated initial 'B' on the single leaf that prefixes a fragmentary copy of Ambrosius Autpertus' *Expositio in Apocalypsim* known to have been produced at Gladbach not long after 1140 (Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, MS Bredt 4).⁴⁸

Having reviewed the available codicological and palaeographical evidence for the attribution of MS Latin 182 to Gladbach's twelfth-century scriptorium, we can conclude that it seems very likely that the manuscript was produced there. The remainder of this article will therefore be operating under the informed hypothesis that MS Latin 182 was indeed at Gladbach from the later twelfth century onwards – which reflects the *communis opinio* of scholarship to date –, whilst also seeking to corroborate this hypothesis further with both textual and contextual arguments based on evidence not considered by scholars so far. In order to do this, I now turn to the manuscript's contents, beginning with the *Historia ecclesiastica* and the *Continuatio Bedae*.

Bede's Historia ecclesiastica and the Continuatio Bedae

The text of the *Historia ecclesiastica* copied in MS Latin 182 is that which is commonly known as the 'm-type recension', of which the earliest manuscript witnesses were produced in Northumbria but preserved in medieval libraries on the Continent.⁴⁹ Within this tradition, those manuscripts that also contain the *Continuatio Bedae* form a distinct line of transmission. The *Continuatio Bedae* consists of a set of nineteen annalistic records that serve to continue the annals provided by Bede himself at the end of Book 5 for the years 731–66.⁵⁰ Until recently, eight manuscripts were known to belong to this group, their dates ranging from the twelfth to the sixteenth century.⁵¹ More recently, three more witnesses (including one twelfth-century copy) were identified thanks to the pioneering work of Joshua Westgard.⁵² Whilst most of the extant manuscripts that contain the *Continuatio Bedae* were produced either in medieval Germany or the Low Countries, the specific archetype that over the course of several centuries gave rise to the redaction now preserved in MS Latin 182 appears to have derived from a later eighth-century manuscript, a mere fragment of which survives today.⁵³

So far, the text of MS Latin 182 has never been collated with that of the other surviving manuscripts of the *Historia ecclesiastica* and the *Continuatio Bedae*. As Westgard has shown in his prolegomena on the *Historia ecclesiastica*'s reception in medieval Germany, the textual variants of the *Continuatio Bedae* in particular hold important clues as to the development of the work's textual transmission and manuscript filiation.⁵⁴ Hopefully, future research will cast more light on the details of this development, especially once Westgard's much-anticipated critical edition of the *Continuatio Bedae* becomes available to scholars. In order to facilitate future scholarship on this important subject, the present article is appended with a collation of Bede's annals and the *Continuatio Bedae* copied in MS Latin 182 (fos 158r–161r) against the texts provided by both Westgard and Colgrave and Mynors (Appendix 1).⁵⁵ Returning to the main text of the *Historia ecclesiastica*, if we compare the text copied by the scribe of MS Latin 182 to that published by Colgrave and Mynors, we can detect a number of discrepancies. Perhaps most significant amongst these is the confusion regarding several of the chapter numbers and their accompanying rubrics. Indeed, the level of confusion in MS Latin 182 is rather more

severe than that observed by Colgrave and Mynors in some of the *Historia ecclesiastica*'s other copies, and warrants detailed discussion.⁵⁶ The first example of a confused chapter rubric occurs on fol. 5v, where the correct rubric 'II' is written over an erasure that previously read 'V'. This error can be identified as having been caused by the rubricator's mistaking the minuscule 'v' that survives in the page margin as an instruction for the chapter number, rather than for the coloured initial of the chapter's first word ('Verum'). The fact that it was probably the rubricator himself who, in his role as scribe, had inserted this very minuscule into the margin of the page during the copying process (see above) seems to have limited the damage, as he rectified his mistake immediately. The next case of confusion had more severe consequences, however. On fol. 6v, the scribe/rubricator prematurely inserted the rubric for Chapter 4 after the chapter's first half, rather than at the end, and he mistakenly rubricated the remaining half as Chapter 5 (turning Chapter 5 into Chapter 6, Chapter 6 into Chapter 7, etc.). Again, he seems to have made this mistake during the copying process, rather than during rubrication, because the 'key letters' written into the page margins are already out of sequence.⁵⁷ There is added confusion with regard to Book 2, Chapter 18, as several chapters bear the rubric 'XVIII' (fos 53r: 'HEC IGITUR inter iustus...', which is in fact Chapter 18; 54r: 'MISIT IDEM papa honorius...', which is actually Chapter 19; 54v: 'AT VERO eduvinus...', which is Chapter 20).⁵⁸ As a result, the subsequent chapter numbers of Book 2 are 'out of sync' with those in the modern edition and the manuscripts upon which it was based.

The chapters of Book 3 also suffer from confusion. Similar to the mistake discussed above, the scribe introduced the rubric 'IX' halfway through Chapter 8 (fol. 63v, between '...de qua sumus dicturi' and 'HUIUS AUTEM virginis...'), thereby increasing all subsequent chapter numbers by one; shortly afterwards, he repeated his mistake with regard to the rubric 'XIII' (fol. 68r, inserted between '...in capsella et rediit' and 'TRANSACTO autem tempore...'), thereby increasing all subsequent chapter numbers by +2; on fol. 71v, a similar mistake (the rubric 'XIX' is inserted between '...vivari cognoverint' and 'HUNC dum...') resulted in a further increase in the chapter numeration (now +3); this is relativised shortly afterwards, as the rubric for Chapter 19 was omitted accidentally on fol. 73r. Such accidental omissions can also be observed with regard to some of the chapter headings in Book 4.⁵⁹ On fol. 101r, for example, the omission of the rubric led to the blending of Chapters 12 and 13, meaning that from fol. 102v onwards ('IN QUO TUNC monasterio...') all subsequent chapter numbers are 'out of sync' by -1.⁶⁰ Book 5, the final book of the *Historia ecclesiastica*, also exhibits cases of confusion. To begin with, Chapter 2 (fol. 25r) opens with 'GESTA VERO SUNT haec temporibus alfridi regis...', rather than 'Cuius regni principio...'.⁶¹ Chapter 4 ('Aliud quoque non multum...') is deferred in MS Latin 182, which means that Chapter 5 (fol. 127r, 'ALIO item tempore vocatus...', rubricated 'IIII') takes its place (and vice versa);⁶² the two chapters thus effectively swap places in the manuscript. Some rubrics are omitted altogether,⁶³ and on fol. 158r, Chapter 22 (corresponding to

Colgrave and Mynors's Chapter 24) begins with 'HIC EST in praesentiarum universae...', rather than 'Verum ea quae temporum...',⁶⁴ thereby taking the place of Chapter 23 (rubricated 'XXIII').

From an editorial point-of-view, the discrepancies exhibited throughout the *Historia ecclesiastica* in MS Latin 182 are of significance, as they might allow us to determine better the manuscript's place within the larger textual tradition, including the identification of possible exemplars and/or filiations (a task that does not form part of the present article, however). From the perspective of the text's use and reception during the twelfth century, these variants hold comparatively little evidential weight. Indeed, the various mistakes introduced by the scribe/rubricator do not make the text any less usable, let alone unreadable. Unless, therefore, the medieval readers of MS Latin 182 had another, less corrupted copy in front of them, they probably would never have known the difference. The evidence of Gladbach's surviving book lists discussed above, none of which contains more than a single copy of the *Historia ecclesiastica* at any point of the library's history, makes the existence of a second copy as early as the mid- to late twelfth century extremely unlikely.⁶⁵ The only case of actual textual corruption in MS Latin 182 is the textual lacuna in Book 4, Chapters 9–11 (...minores docendo vel castigan[-do curabat]...[...][termi-]natus ostenderet...) that was caused by the loss of one double sheet of parchment (originally fos 99v–100r). As I will argue in the remainder of this article, a crucial key in identifying the contexts in which MS Latin 182 may have found an application during the twelfth century might be provided by the other texts that were copied at the end of the manuscript.

The Visio Wettini and De duobus clericis

The last one and a half quires of MS Latin 182 (originally fos 161r–176v) contain two further texts. They follow on directly from the end of the verse epitaph dedicated to Bede himself that forms the *Historia ecclesiastica*'s finale in MS Latin 182 (fol. 162v), as well as in several other manuscripts that contain the *Continuatio Bedae*.⁶⁶ Judging by the script, nib-width and ink (Fig. 6), they were copied by the same scribe who also copied Bede's work, probably as part of the same writing campaign, but whether from the same or a different exemplar cannot be determined. Of both texts only fragments remain (fos 162v–168v) due to a loss of at least three sheets of parchment (fos 165v–167r, 169r–176v). The first fragment is from a text known as the *Visio Wettini*, written by Abbot Heito of Reichenau and continued by Walahfrid Strabo c.824–7.⁶⁷ Written as a vibrant account of several visions of heaven and hell that are related to have been experienced by its early medieval protagonist and namesake, Wetti of Reichenau (†824), the *Visio Wettini* has been referred to as 'arguably the most detailed picture of the Carolingian conception of the afterlife'.⁶⁸ In modern scholarship it claims a position on a par with that of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* and Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* (which some have seen as a response to the *Visio Wettini*). According to one scholar, 'no discussion of medieval thought on purgatory [...] could be complete without reference to the *Visio Wettini*'.⁶⁹ Owing to its fragmentary

state, the *Visio Wettini* in MS Latin 182 exhibits lacunae between Vision 10 (fol. 165v, ‘...monasteria denominare, inde so[-latiis]...’) and Vision 15 (fol. 166r, ‘...[eti-]am pulchritudinem incredibili...’), as well as between Vision 18 (fol. 166v, ‘...preces prosternerentur appa[-uit]...’) and Vision 28 (fol. 167r, ‘...[indutiae proletatae] michi non fuerint...’). The list of chapter headings that precedes the *Visio Wettini* in many of the surviving manuscripts has been omitted in MS Latin 182. Here, the list is not preserved as an item in its own right, but ‘converted’ into a series of rubrics that are inserted directly before the respective visions.⁷⁰

The fourth and final text in MS Latin 182, which was copied straight after the *Visio Wettini*’s final vision (fol. 167v, ‘...instabilis vite clausit horam’), has less of a claim to fame than its predecessors. It is introduced with a rubric that reads ‘De duobus clericis quorum alter alteri post mortem apparuit’ (‘Of two clerics, one of whom appeared to the other after [his] death’, hereafter *De duobus clericis*) (Fig. 7). Just like the *Visio Wettini*, *De duobus clericis*, too, is a fragment that ends abruptly on fol. 168v. The full text survives in two manuscripts introduced briefly at the beginning of this article (*C*₁ and *C*₂), both of which preface it with the rubric ‘Quoddam miraculum duobus clericis’ (Figs 8 and 9). Neither of these two manuscripts was produced in medieval Germany, but both *C*₁ and *C*₂ belonged to the Abbey Saint-Sépulcre de Cambrai, one of two Benedictine houses founded by Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai (†1076) during the 1060s (the other being Saint-Aubert de Cambrai).⁷¹ To the best of my knowledge, this makes MS Latin 182 the only surviving twelfth-century manuscript outside of Cambrai known to contain *De duobus clericis*.⁷² A detailed comparison of the Cambrai manuscripts suggests that *C*₂ was copied, possibly directly, from *C*₁ (which dates from the second half of the twelfth century) at some stage during the thirteenth century (see my transcription of *De duobus clericis* at the end of this article, Appendix 2). *De duobus clericis* might best be classified as a ‘miracle story’. Just like Wetti in the *Visio Wettini*, the two protagonists of *De duobus clericis* are granted a visionary glimpse into the afterlife. The cornerstones of the story can be summarised as follows:

De duobus clericis is set in the city of Nantes in Brittany. Its protagonists are two clerics – priests no less –, who due to their youth are full of mundane wisdom but wanting in character. One day, whilst exchanging adolescent vanities, one of them experiences what resembles a classical *memento mori* moment: confessing to having wasted both their youths through pointless education in the liberal arts, he proclaims sombrely that no amount of studying will ever allow either of them to cheat death. What death has in store for them, be it salvation or eternal suffering, remains impossible to know even for the most well-educated person on Earth. As a means of consolation, his friend proposes a mutual pact, to be sealed by oath, which has them both promise that whoever dies first will return to the other one within thirty days and report whatever he has seen and experienced on the other side. Not much later, one of them dies unexpectedly, leaving the other behind in anticipation of the dead friend’s return. When thirty days pass uneventfully, the living friend is quick to blame God, but as his rage subsides the divine will suddenly reveals itself in his favour as the dead companion returns in the bright light of

day. Having mustered each other in silence, their conversation soon turns to the report from the afterlife. The dead cleric urges his friend to pay close attention to what he has to say, as it might save him from the pain and suffering that he himself had to endure in hell due to having lived a sinful life. Concerned about his dead friend's soul, the living cleric pledges to offer prayers and give generously to the poor, as well as to monasteries. He is told, however, that all help will be too late, which is why it is all the more important for him to follow the advice of his dead friend in order not to share his fate.

The torture and suffering that hell reserves for evildoers is too violent to be expressed in words, but has to be experienced physically. In order to make his friend comprehend, therefore, the dead cleric produces his hand from which streams of blood pour forth like water. He then flings four drops of blood in the other's face, where they immediately pierce the flesh like a hot iron and leave holes the size of nuts. These shall serve as a reminder to the friend not to live his life in sin. Having been subjected to this demonstration of hell's tortures administered by the hand of the dead friend, the living cleric begs for mercy and advice as to how he can escape this eternal suffering. The advice he receives is simple: he must renounce the world immediately and become a monk in the Abbey of St Melany in Brittany. Before returning to hell, the dead cleric explicitly cautions his friend against the vices of the secular clergy. He presents a thank-you letter from the Devil himself, who together with his demons congratulates the secular clergy on their way of life. He brandishes bishops, archdeacons and parish priests alike (*episcopis, archidiaconibus et parrochianis presbiteris*) as the Devil's envoys, children of the eternal damnation (*fili facti essent eterne perditionis*), who with the dawn of every new day lead another multitude of souls – regardless of sex or age – straight into the inferno. Never before, he adds polemically, have the Devils and his demons be so indebted to the secular clergy, their thanks resounding loudly and clearly from the depths of hell.⁷³ As the apparition finally disappears, the living priest hastens to renounce all his worldly possessions, takes the monk's habit at St Melany and entirely devotes himself to the monastic life in such a way as pleases Christ and serves him in all things.

Prima facie, there is little to set apart the style and tone of *De duobus clericis* from those of other miracle stories circulating in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Germany (and beyond). Indeed, slightly different versions of the same story can be found in a number of other works dating from the period c.1125–1250. Gordon Gerould in 1902 identified no fewer than fifteen variations of the story, which he collated from a large corpus of French and English manuscripts.⁷⁴ This corpus contained neither MS Latin 182 nor *C*₁ and *C*₂, however. Following his observation that 'no one [of these variations] reproduces every detail of any other',⁷⁵ Gerould established five distinctive elements that were shared, either entirely or in part, by the different variations he had collected. These are:

- (1) An agreement between two friends (monks or clerks) that the one who dies first shall appear to the survivor;
- (2) a return from death;
- (3) a message from the devil;
- (4) a token or mark given

the living man either by friend or devil; and (5) the news of the damnation of the dead or his salvation.⁷⁶

Based on these elements, Gerould then sub-divided the textual tradition into seven distinct groups (labelled A–G). Only one group (B) fulfils all five criteria, however, whereas the other six are less faithful and/or comprehensive in their reproduction of the story's content. Gerould identified four representatives of this group: the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais (†1264), which in Book 26, Chapter 89 provides a story called 'De clerico cui sodalis [socius suus] damnatus apparuit';⁷⁷ *P*, which is a manuscript produced anonymously c.1250–75 under the title *Libellus de beata Maria*, and which contains a story rubricated 'CXXXII. Exemplum de duobus sacerdotibus qui dum viverent fidem mutuo dederunt quod ille qui prior moreretur infra xxx dies post mortem suum appareret viventi' (fos 237r–238r, Fig. 10); a fourteenth-century manuscript bearing the title *De novissimorum temporum periculis* that contains a similar account to that in *P* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Lat. 15913); a vernacular (Old French) version in the *Contes moralisés* of Nicholas Bozon (fl. 1320).⁷⁸

Out of these four texts, that preserved in *P* exhibits the strongest similarities to *De duobus clericis* in MS Latin 182. Yet, *P* was written at least half a century (if not more) after MS Latin 182, and whilst their content is largely identical, their actual wording is so different that it must derive from two independent manuscript traditions. This makes *De duobus clericis* in MS Latin 182 (along with *C_I*, perhaps) the earliest version to fulfil all five criteria established by Gerould (see above). Finally, there is one other text belonging to this tradition of which Gerould was unaware, and which predates all of his examples by at least a century. The text in question are the *Gesta regum Anglorum*, composed by the English monk-historian, William of Malmesbury (†1143), and completed c.1125–7. In Book 3 of his *Gesta regum Anglorum*, William includes a story about two priests in Nantes that reflects *De duobus clericis* in almost all its nuances (thereby fulfilling all five of Gerould's criteria), making it a closer relative to the text in MS Latin 182 than any of the examples identified by Gerould.⁷⁹ Given the *Gesta regum Anglorum*'s widely accepted date of composition, it represents the only textual witness earlier than MS Latin 182 and *C_I*. The two texts are not entirely identical, however, and their respective wording clearly points to different lines of transmission. In terms of content, too, there is at least one minor yet important difference: as we saw earlier, the Devil's letter carried by the dead priest in *De duobus clericis* is aimed specifically against the secular clergy, particularly bishops, archdeacons and priests. In William's *Gesta regum Anglorum*, by contrast, this anti-secular sentiment is missing entirely. Here, the Devil and his demons thank 'all the clergy (*omni aecclesiastico*)' for their treacherous work.⁸⁰ The moral of the story of the two clerics as told by William, which he 'included without regret, for the profit of my readers',⁸¹ is thus a universal one, directed at all of his prospective audiences, rather than polemicising against one particular group of people. The story thus fits nicely within William's larger conception of history (or historical writing) and its 'moralising' functions.⁸² With regard to MS Latin

182, however, a more specific explanation seems required in order to contextualise the decision to include the story of the two priests in this particular manuscript.

Putting MS Latin 182 into context

How, then, can we explain the juxtaposition of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* and two miracle stories such as the *Visio Wettini* and *De duobus clericis* in MS Latin 182, especially considering the latter's rather explosive nature in terms of political rhetoric? Generally speaking, of course, miracle stories during the later twelfth century formed no rarity in Germany. German miracle stories such as those collected during the early thirteenth century by the Cistercian prior, Caesarius of Heisterbach (†1240), were the products of a prolific literary and spiritual discourse that relied on oral, written and also material traditions.⁸³ In fact, Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum* is one of the texts collated by Gerould, who used it as the basis for his group D.⁸⁴ The widespread dissemination and popularity of miracle stories such as those collected in the *Dialogus miraculorum* was facilitated, amongst other things, by the Cistercians' outspoken and at times aggressive promotion of spiritual reform, as well as by the Order's highly efficient communication networks and channels of literary production. Miracle stories exercised a crucial impact on twelfth-century cultures of preaching, teaching and spirituality, not only in Germany, but in a wider European context (including England). Whilst the harsh criticism of the secular clergy in *De duobus clericis* certainly resonates well with both William of Malmesbury's worldview and Cistercian reform agendas, the text might have struck an equally positive chord with the monastic community at Gladbach, whose monks never turned Cistercian but remained Benedictine until the monastery's dissolution in 1802. As I will argue now, it is the community of Gladbach in particular that presents a likely target audience for this text and its political manifesto, which generates further support for the manuscript's attribution to the abbey's twelfth-century scriptorium. The rationale for this argument has to do with Gladbach's political and religious history in the period c.1000–1200.

Gladbach's history of monastic emancipation and reform during the years c.1000–1200 includes several examples of ecclesiastical politics and negotiations that brought the monks and abbots into contact, and often conflict, with the region's secular clergy. At the end of the tenth century, the territory of Gladbach, including its abbey, had fallen to the archbishopric of Cologne, whose reigning prelate, Archbishop Ebergar (†999), relocated the entire monastic community and incorporated it into the Abbey of Great St Martin in Cologne.⁸⁵ In the wake of this forced relocation, several of Gladbach's lands and churches were confiscated and redistributed by Ebergar amongst his own vassals, reportedly in order to help finance a series of military campaigns.⁸⁶ After several frustrated attempts at freeing themselves from episcopal oversight (ordinations, professions, visitation rights, etc.), the Gladbach monks and their abbots were eventually permitted to return to governing themselves at their old site.

This was soon followed by a series of monastic restructurings implemented under Gladbach's new abbot Adalbero (1090–1100), whose leadership promoted ideas of monastic liberty and independence similar to those held by other reformed communities and, most prominently, the great Burgundian abbey of Cluny.⁸⁷ The memory of Ebergar's actions remained very much alive at Gladbach, however, and it determined the monastery's future dealings with Cologne, as well as with other episcopal and secular prelates in the region along the Rhine. Despite their best efforts, the monks of Gladbach never seem to have succeeded in securing for themselves the right of free abbatial election that formed one of the main cornerstones of the so-called 'Cluniac exemption'.⁸⁸ During the first quarter of the twelfth century, the community of Gladbach adopted the so-called 'Reform of Siegburg' (*Siegburger Reform*) – a reform movement that originated in Germany in the 1070s, and which, in turn, had been shaped under the general spiritual influence of Cluny and Fruttuaria.⁸⁹ Initially, the plan of implementing the reformed customs (*consuetudines*) of Siegburg at Gladbach had been met with some resistance, but its eventual breakthrough during the second half of the 1090s brought about the revision and renewal of several key aspects of Gladbach's monastic routine: a revised and improved liturgy was introduced, the abbey's constitution (*Klosterverfassung*) rewritten and a new abbey church constructed under Abbot Rupert.

What is more, the abbey's book collection was expanded significantly with both external acquisitions and products of Gladbach's own scriptorium. Indeed, it has been suggested recently that almost half of the twenty-five or so monks living at Gladbach during the mid-twelfth century had received scribal training and a verified profession to write.⁹⁰ The products of their scribal activity included not only liturgical books, but also a revised institutional history of the monastery and its foundation, written shortly after 1120 and probably going back to an earlier version that had been commissioned by Abbot Henry (1024–64) and was completed around 1090, as well as a 'book of life' (*liber vitae*).⁹¹ Indeed, the twelfth century is widely considered a period of prosperity and proliferation for Gladbach's in-house library and scriptorium, and we already encountered several examples of this in the previous sections of this article.⁹² It is probably no coincidence, therefore, to find that towards the middle of the twelfth century we can observe a growing 'historical interest' at Gladbach, which for the remainder of the century continued to manifest itself through a steep increase in the local book production. In several cases, this 'historical' interest was closely and intrinsically linked to hagiographical matters. This is reflected vividly by the texts that were copied at Gladbach during this period, a great many of which supplemented their 'historical' accounts with hagiographical and/or supernatural elements. By 1200, Gladbach's scribes had produced copies of Thegan of Trier's *Life of Louis the Pious*, Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*, John the Deacon's *Life of Gregory the Great*, Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana*, Ambrosius Autpertus's *Commentary on the Apocalypse* (whose copy of c.1140 shows a large foliated initial strikingly similar to those in MS Latin 182, as we saw above) and, of course, miracle stories and visionary literature such the *Visio Wettini* and *De duobus clericis*.⁹³ Meanwhile, the political climate that accompanied the acquisition and copying of these

historical and/or hagiographical texts at Gladbach during the second half of the twelfth century remained very much one shaped by aspirations of monastic emancipation and self-governance, as we will see now.

It is within the context of Gladbach's institutional memory, communal identity and monastic self-assertion – which had been shaped, not least, by the legacy of the community's traumatic experience with Archbishop Ebergar, resulting in the painful loss of both the monastery's possessions and its self-governance – that I suggest the additional texts in MS Latin 182 might find their most probable locus. In practical terms, the *Visio Wettini* and *De duobus clericis* both had the potential to offer spiritual correction and guidance even in the face of political upheaval. This practical and edifying function may have owed not least to the miracles' powerful ability of turning concrete historical events (such as Gladbach's institutional memory of the conflicts with Cologne) into more universally applicable didactic messages and *exempla*.⁹⁴ More specifically, such *exempla* developed on the basis of codified institutional memories might have been deployed strategically in the context of monastic self-fashioning and identity formation *vis-à-vis* episcopal and/or secular influence. Indeed, we know of similar cases from elsewhere in twelfth-century Europe, such as at Durham, where the *Chronicle* of Regino of Prüm (†915) found a political application during the monks' involvement in the disputed pontificate of Pope Alexander III.⁹⁵ As Simon MacLean has shown with regard to a manuscript copy of Regino's *Chronicle* produced by the monks of Durham, a booklet that today forms part of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 139, the textual compilation of this booklet and its 'editorial rationale [were] intimately connected to the circumstances of the later 1160s'.⁹⁶ In the case of MS Latin 182, a similar 'editorial rationale' might have motivated the combination of the *Historia ecclesiastica* with texts such as the *Visio Wettini* and *De duobus clericis*. It is possible that at Gladbach this editorial rationale might have consisted in an attempt to contextualise Bede's work more explicitly within political discourses about secular influences on monastic life. As we saw above, such discourses continued to be of high relevance to Gladbach's monastic community throughout the twelfth century, despite (or perhaps precisely because of) the monk's frustrated attempts at obtaining complete self-determination in the form of free abbatial elections, which perpetuated the monastery's dependence on the bishop and the local secular clergy. Within such a tense political and religious climate, the two texts that we find appended to Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* in MS Latin 182 might actually have resonated rather well. This seems particularly likely with regard to *De duobus clericis* and its pronounced, and all-encompassing, anti-secular attitude, which ranges from the episcopal level down to that of the local clergy. The miracle of the two priests recorded in MS Latin 182 serves to discredit all secular clergy indiscriminately, promoting the *via monastica* as the only acceptable way to salvation, and being epitomised by the penitent priest's renunciation of the worldly life and entrance into the Abbey of St Melany in Brittany.

In juxtaposing and combining the *Visio Wettini* and *De duobus clericis* with the *Historia ecclesiastica*, MS Latin 182 effectively frames Bede's work in a specific way. The fact that these texts are appended to the *Historia ecclesiastica*, rather than prefacing it, does not, to my mind, detract from this effect, as we should assume neither a preference for linear reading amongst the manuscript's medieval readers and/or audiences, nor an expectation that 'more important' texts had to come first in the book (thereby rendering the book's subsequent contents less important). Whether this combination of texts was a genuine 'invention' or 'innovation' on the part of the Gladbach scribe or based on the manuscript's unknown exemplar cannot be answered here. Whether deliberate or accidental, the combination of the *Historia ecclesiastica* – a work of 'history' – with two miracle stories, at least one of which was politically charged due to historical precedent, may have represented less of a random amalgamation than it might at first appear. Scholars working on the original conception of the *Historia ecclesiastica* and the early history of its reception increasingly have come to see the text in a multi-faceted and genre-defying light. They have presented strong evidence that places miracle stories at the very heart of Bede's 'historical' vision, which has sometimes been cast as more of a 'hagiographical' outlook.⁹⁷ The specific and unique combination of texts that we find in MS Latin 182, despite its being unattested in any of the *Historia ecclesiastica*'s other known copies, is thus not irreconcilable with earlier medieval practices. Indeed, examples of a similar (albeit not entirely identical) hagiographical (re-)framing and re-contextualisation of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* in conjunction with medieval miracle stories can also be observed in a number of other German manuscripts. Perhaps most significant, in this regard, is the evidence of *L*, a twelfth-century copy of Bede's work of unspecified German provenance. Similar to MS Latin 182, *L* also preserves the *Historia ecclesiastica* together with the *Continuatio Bedae*, and just like the Gladbach manuscript it finishes with Bede's verse epitaph.⁹⁸ At the end of this epitaph (fos 123v–124r), in the same place where MS Latin 182 features the *Visio Wettini*, the scribe of *L* added a list of miracles connected to the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World (rubricated 'VII MIRACULA', Fig. 11), which are identified here as (1) the Capitoline Hill in Rome, (2) the Lighthouse of Alexandria, (3) the Colossus of Rhodes, (4) the Statue of Bellerophon at Smyrna, (5) the Theatre in Heraclea Lyncestis, (6) the Bath of Apollonius of Tyana and (7) the Temple of Diana in Ephesus.⁹⁹ These are followed, in turn, by some more substantial texts of hagiographical and monastic relevance, including the *Passio sancti Sixti papae felicissimi et Agapti diaconorum* and the *Caesarii episcopi x homiliae ad monachos*.¹⁰⁰ *De duobus clericis* is not amongst the texts preserved in *L*.

The practice of copying the *Historia ecclesiastica* in combination with miracle stories did not end in the twelfth century. This can be seen in *V*, a fifteenth-century German codex that, similar to *L* and MS Lat 182, suffixes Bede's work with a collection of miracles and visions (*collectio visionum*).¹⁰¹ Beginning on fol. 137r, the first of these concerns two English novices (rubricated 'Novitii cuiusdam de Anglia'), followed by a story about two monks from Savigny ('Monachi coenobii Saviniensis') and another two miracles. The fifth and final miracle story (ending on fol. 146r) is none other than *De*

duobus clericis (which in *V* is rubricated ‘De duobus presbyteris quorum unus post mortem alteri viventi apparuit’). This fifteenth-century copy of the *Historia ecclesiastica* in conjunction with *De duobus clericis* marks the latest example – at least as far as we know based on the surviving manuscripts – of a practice that seems to have originated in medieval Germany at some point during the twelfth century. At present, the only location where this practice can be identified with reasonable confidence is Gladbach. Just how unique and consistent a practice this was, and how widely it might have spread in terms of both chronology and geography, remains difficult to say. In the absence of the respective exemplars of MS Latin 182, *L* and *V*, we cannot know for sure whether we are dealing with a single tradition, different incidences of similar kinds of interest or simply the accidents of transmission. Hopefully, future scholarship on the texts and their manuscripts might generate insights that allow us to be a little more assertive.

Conclusion

In this article, I have drawn upon the evidence of MS Latin 182 to propose the possibility of an additional context for the reception and use of Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica* during the twelfth century. This context specifically concerned the communication and preservation of monastic identities and reform agendas at Gladbach, which over the course of this article could be confirmed as the most likely origin of MS Latin 182, as well as, potentially, elsewhere in medieval Germany (given the corroborating evidence of *L* and *V*). In developing and defending these monastic identities, the monks of Gladbach and other German Benedictine communities during the twelfth century regularly turned to examples from the recent past. This usually meant adopting a ‘European perspective’ (to employ a modern term) that took inspiration not just from any one source, but from German (Siegburg), Lotharingian (Gorze), Italian (Fruttuaria) and, of course, Burgundian (Cluny) models, to name only the most prominent examples. They sometimes cast their net more widely still, thereby exploring examples from the more distant past, as well as from the peripheries of medieval Europe. As I have argued here, one such model that appears to have been explored specifically at the Abbey of Gladbach was Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica*. Building on this observation, I would like to suggest that it was Bede’s eight-century history of the Anglo-Saxon church – and of the wider *orbis Christianus* – that provided the twelfth-century German abbeys and their scribes with the very essence of an aspirational didactic and spiritual vision, one that could be brought in accordance with their own contemporary ideas of reform. In this sense, Bede’s work might have served as a spiritual guide, an example of a ‘golden age’ of monasticism that the twelfth-century monks at Gladbach seem to have been rather keen to emulate.

By combining the *Historia ecclesiastica* with miracle stories such as the *Visio Wettini* and, perhaps most significantly, *De duobus clericis*, the makers of MS Latin 182 re-framed and re-contextualised Bede’s work in a specific way, be it deliberately or by accident of transmission. At the

very least, this opens up the possibility that the *Historia ecclesiastica* during the twelfth century might on occasion have been read and understood in a context other than that of ‘history’ (*historia*) as it had been defined and exemplified by Bede himself and in the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville.¹⁰² This possible practice of (re-)reading the *Historia ecclesiastica* in the context of hagiography and miracle stories serves both to contrast and to connect the respective modes of reception of Bede in twelfth-century Germany and England. On the one hand, twelfth-century English historians still habitually styled themselves as Bede’s continuators in the more traditional sense.¹⁰³ We only have to think of William of Malmesbury, who famously criticised Eadmer of Canterbury for having neglected ‘two hundred and twenty-three years after Bede that he thought unworthy of remark’, thereby allowing history to ‘limp along with no support from writings’.¹⁰⁴ ‘After Bede,’ William lamented, ‘you will not easily [...] find anyone who has devoted himself to writing English history in Latin.’¹⁰⁵ Henry of Huntingdon went one step further: in the *Historia Anglorum*, he informed his patron, Bishop Alexander of Lincoln, that he ‘followed the Venerable Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* wherever possible’.¹⁰⁶ Hyperbolic as such statements might have sounded even at the time that they were written, Henry still lifted no fewer than a quarter of the *Historia Anglorum*’s literary borrowings directly from the work of Bede,¹⁰⁷ and in doing so he was by no means exceptional amongst his English contemporaries.

On the other hand, there are cases that serve to situate Bede’s medieval English readers much closer to their German contemporaries at Gladbach. Prominent examples include Reginald of Durham, another unapologetic user of Bede, who in composing his *libellus* on the life and deeds of St Cuthbert drew heavily upon both Bede’s *Life of Cuthbert* and the *Historia ecclesiastica*, not least a source of miracle stories, some of which Reginald even redacted and added to himself.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, some of the miracle stories found in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* were excerpted and used as lections, such as at Peterborough, where during the eleventh and twelfth centuries Bede’s work provided inspiration for the feasts and octaves of St Oswald.¹⁰⁹ Neither in England nor in Germany does there seem to have been just ‘one way’ of reading Bede during the twelfth century. Rather, the makers and users of MS Latin 182 and other contemporary manuscripts produced on both sides of the Channel continued to facilitate (and in some cases invent) additional contexts of reception. Some of these ‘new’ contexts were fairly traditional in scope, others more innovative, some even genre-defying. MS Latin 182 sits rather comfortably at the juncture of these categories, framing the *Historia ecclesiastica* in such a way as to offer the monks at Gladbach an edifying *exemplum* in the context of two miracle stories without negating its value as a work of monastic history.

Appendices

Appendix 1:

Transcription of Bede's annals 60 BC–AD 731 and the Continuatio Bedae (fos 158r–161r)

VERUM EA QUE temporum distinctione latius digesta sunt; ob memoriam conservandam breviter recapitulari placuit. XXIII

Anno igitur ante incarnationem dominicam sexagesimo, gaius iulius cesar primus romanorum brittanniam¹ bello pulsavit et vicit, nec tamen ibi potuit regnum obtinere.

Anno ab incarnatione domini quadragesimo sexto, claudius secundus romanorum brittannias adiens plurimam insule partem in deditionem recepit, et orcadis quoque insulas romano adiecit imperio.

Anno ab incarnatione domini centesimo sexagesimo septimo eleuther rome presul factus quindecim annos ecclesiam rexit², cui litteras rex brittannie lucius mittens, ut christianus efficeretur petiit et impetravit.

Anno ab incarnatione domini centesimo octogesimo nono, severus imperator [fol. 158v] quatuordecim annis regnavit,³ qui brittanniam vallo a mari usque ad mare precinxit.

Anno trecentesimo octogesimo primo maximus in brittannia creatus imperator galliam transiit, et gratianum interfecit.

Anno quadringentesimo nono, roma a gothis fracta est⁴, ex quo tempore romani in brittanniam regnare cessaverunt⁵.

Anno quadringentesimo tricesimo palladius ad scottos in christum credentes a celestino papa primus mittitur episcopus.

Anno quadringentesimo quadragesimo nono, martianus cum valentiniano imperium suscipiens, septem annis tenuit, quorum tempore angli a brittonibus accersiti brittanniam adierunt.

Anno quingentesimo vicesimo octavo eclipsis⁶ solis facta est quartodecimo kalendarum martiarum⁷ ab hora prima usque ad tertiam.

¹ Cf. *HEGA*, p. 560: Britannias. The variations provided in the apparatus of this transcription are those given by Colgrave and Mynors.

² ecclesiam gloriosissime rexit.

³ Seuerus imperator factus XVII annis regnavit.

⁴ Roma a Gothis fracta.

⁵ cessarunt.

⁶ eclipsis.

⁷ XIII kalendas Martias.

Anno quingentesimo quadragesimo eclipsis⁸ solis facta est duodecimo kalendas iulias, et apparuerunt stelle pene hor dimidia, ab hore diei tercia.

Anno quingentesimo quadragesimo septimo ida regnare cepit, a quo regalis northanybrorum⁹ prosapia originem tenuit¹⁰, et tredecim annis¹¹ in regno permansit.

Anno quingentesimo sexagesimo quinto, columba presbiter de scottia venit brittanniam ad docendos pictos, et in insula hii monasterium fecit.

Anno quingentesimo nonagesimo sexto, gregorius papa misit brittanniam augustinum cum monachis, qui verbum dei genti anglorum evangelizarent.

Anno quingentesimo nonagesimo septimo, venere brittanniam prefati doctores, qui fuit annus plus minus[?]ve [fol. 159r] centesimus quinquagesimus adventus anglorum in brittanniam.

Anno sexcentesimo primo misit papa gregorius pallium brittanniam augustino episcopo iam facto¹², et plures verbi ministros, cum quibus¹³ et paulinum.

Anno sexcentesimo quarto pugnatum est ad degsastane[sic]¹⁴.

Anno sexcentesimo quarto, orientales saxones fidem christi perceperunt¹⁵ sub rege seberto¹⁶, et antistite mellito.

Anno dc iiii gregorius obiit.

Anno sexcentesimo sexto decimo edilbertus¹⁷ rex cantuariorum defunctus est.

Anno dc vicesimo quinto paulinus a iusto archiepiscopo ordinatur genti northanybrorum¹⁸.

Anno dc vicesimo sexto eanfled filia eduini regis baptizata est cum duodecim in sabbato pentecosten¹⁹.

Anno dc vicesimo septimo eduinus rex baptizatus est²⁰ cum sua gente in pascha.

Anno sexcentesimo tricesimo tercio, eduino rege perempto, paulinus cantiam rediit.

⁸ eclipsis.

⁹ Nordanhymbrorum.

¹⁰ tenet.

¹¹ XII annis.

¹² iam facto episcopo.

¹³ in quibus.

¹⁴ ad Degsastanae.

¹⁵ percipiunt.

¹⁶ Sebertus.

¹⁷ Aedilbertus.

¹⁸ Nordanhymbrorum antistes.

¹⁹ Pentecostes.

²⁰ baptizatus.

Anno sexcentesimo quadragesimo eadbaldus²¹ rex cantuariorum obiit.

Anno dc xl ii osvaldus²² rex occisus est²³.

Anno dc xl quarto paulinus quondam eboraci²⁴ sed tunc rhofensis²⁵ civitatis antistes²⁶ migravit ad dominum.

Anno dc quinquagesimo primo osuini²⁷ rex occisus est, et aidan episcopus defunctus est.

Anno dc l terciio middilangli²⁸ sub principe peada fidei misteriis sunt imbuti.

Anno dc l quinto periit penda²⁹, et merci facti sunt³⁰ christiani.

Anno dc sexagesimo quarto eglypsis solis facta est³¹, earconberthus³² rex cantuariorum defunctus est³³, et colmanus³⁴ cum scottis ad suos reversus est, et pestilentia venit, et ceadda ac vuilfridus³⁵ northanymbrorum³⁶ ordinantur episcopi.

Anno dc sexagesimo octavo, theodorus ordinatur [fols. 159v] archiepiscopus³⁷.

Anno sexcentesimo septuagesimo, osviu rex northanymbrorum³⁸ obiit.

Anno dc lx terciio egbertus³⁹ rex cantuariorum obiit, et synodus facta est ad reuthfurda⁴⁰ presente egfrido⁴¹ rege, presidente vero⁴² theodoro archiepiscopo utillima decem capitulorum.

Ann[o = added by rubricator!] dc lxx quinto, vulferi⁴³ rex merciorum postquam septemdecim annis regnaverat defunctus edilredo fratri reliquit imperium.

²¹ Eadbald.

²² Osuald.

²³ occisus.

²⁴ Eboraci.

²⁵ Hrofensis.

²⁶ antistes civitatis.

²⁷ Osuini.

²⁸ Middilengli.

²⁹ Penda periit.

³⁰ sunt facti.

³¹ eclypsis facta.

³² Eaconberct.

³³ defunctus.

³⁴ Colman.

³⁵ Uilfrid.

³⁶ Nordanhymbrorum.

³⁷ episcopus.

³⁸ Nordanhymbrorum.

³⁹ Ecgberct.

⁴⁰ Herutforda.

⁴¹ Ecgfrido.

⁴² praesidente.

⁴³ Uulfheri.

Anno dc lxx sexto edilredus⁴⁴ vastavit cantiam.

Anno dc lxx octavo cometa apparuit, viulfridus⁴⁵ episcopus a sede sua pulsus est ab egfrido⁴⁶ rege, et pro eo bosa, eata, et eadhedus⁴⁷ consecrati antistetes[sic].

Anno dc lxx viiii elfvuini⁴⁸ occisus est⁴⁹.

Anno dc octogesimo facta est synodus⁵⁰ in campo hedfelda⁵¹ de fide catholica presidente archiepiscopo theodoro, in quo affuit et iohannes abbas romanus, quo anno hilda⁵² abbatissa in streoneshale⁵³ obiit.

Anno dc lxxx quinto, egfridus⁵⁴ rex northanymbrorum⁵⁵ occisus est.

Anno eodem lohteri⁵⁶ rex cantuariorum obiit.

Anno dc lxxx viii ceadvualla⁵⁷ rex occidentalium saxonum romam de brittannia pergit.

Anno dc nonagesimo theodorus archiepiscopus obiit.

Anno dc nonagesimo septimo, ostrid⁵⁸ regina a suis id est merciorum primatibus interempta est⁵⁹.

Anno dc xc viii berthredus⁶⁰ dux regius northanymbrorum⁶¹ a pictis interfectus est⁶².

Anno septingentesimo quarto, edilredus⁶³ postquam triginta annis et uno genti merciorum⁶⁴ prefuit, monachus factus cunrado⁶⁵ regnum dedit.

Anno dcc quinto, aldfridus⁶⁶ rex northanymbrorum⁶⁷ defunctus est.

⁴⁴ Aedilred.

⁴⁵ Uilfrid.

⁴⁶ Ecgfrido.

⁴⁷ Eadhaeth.

⁴⁸ Aelfuini.

⁴⁹ occisus.

⁵⁰ synodus facta.

⁵¹ Haethfeltha.

⁵² Hild.

⁵³ Streanaeshale.

⁵⁴ Ecgfrid.

⁵⁵ Nordanhymbrorum.

⁵⁶ Hlotheri.

⁵⁷ Caeduald.

⁵⁸ Osthryd.

⁵⁹ interemta.

⁶⁰ Berctred.

⁶¹ Nordanhymbrorum.

⁶² interfectus.

⁶³ Aedilred.

⁶⁴ Merciorum genti.

⁶⁵ Coenredo.

⁶⁶ Aldfrid.

⁶⁷ Nordanhymbrorum.

Anno dcc nono cunra- [fol. 160r] -dus⁶⁸ rex merciorum postquam sex⁶⁹ annos regnavit romam pergit.

Anno dcc xi berethfridus⁷⁰ prefectus cum pictis pugnavit.

Anno dcc sexto decimo, osredus rex northanimbrorum⁷¹ interfectus est⁷², et rex merciorum ceolredus⁷³ defunctus, et vir egbertus hienses⁷⁴ monachos ad catholicum pascha et ecclesiasticam correxit tonsuram.

Anno dcc vicesimo quinto vuichtredus⁷⁵ rex cantuariorum obiit.

Anno dcc vicesimo nono, cometa apparuit, sanctus egbertus⁷⁶ transiit, osrihc⁷⁷ mortuus est.

Anno dcc tricesimo primo berhuualdus⁷⁸ archiepiscopus obiit.

Anno eodem tatuuini⁷⁹ consecratus archiepiscopus nonus doruuernensis ecclesie edilbaldo rege merciorum quintum decimum agente annum imperii.

[for the following annals, cf. the transcription of Prague, Strahovská knihovna, MS DF III 1 and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Cod. 13707 in Westgard, 'Dissemination', pp. 142–7]

Anno ab incarnatione domini dcc secundo⁸⁰ egbertus⁸¹ pro vuilfrido eboraci⁸² episcopus factus, cynibertus episcopus lindisfarorum obiit.

Anno ab incarnatione domini dcc tricesimo tercio tatuuini archiepiscopus accepto ab apostolica auctoritate pallio ordinavit aluuich et sigfridum episcopos.

Anno ab incarnatione christi, dcc xxx quinto [interlinear gloss: quarto], tatuuini episcopus obiit.

Anno ab incarnatione domini dcc tricesimo quinto, nothelmus⁸³ archiepiscopus ordinatur, et egbertus⁸⁴ episcopus accepto ab apostolica sede pallio primus post paulinum in archiepiscopatum confirmatus est; ordinavitque fruidubertum⁸⁵ et friduualdum⁸⁶ episcopos; et BEDA presbiter obiit.

⁶⁸ Coenred.

⁶⁹ quinque.

⁷⁰ Berctfrid.

⁷¹ Nordanhymbrorum.

⁷² interfectus.

⁷³ Ceolred.

⁷⁴ vir Domini Ecgberct Hiienses.

⁷⁵ Uictred.

⁷⁶ Ecgberct.

⁷⁷ Osric.

⁷⁸ Berctuald.

⁷⁹ Tatuini.

⁸⁰ DCCXXXII.

⁸¹ Ecgberct.

⁸² Eboraci.

⁸³ Nothelm.

⁸⁴ Ecgberth.

⁸⁵ Fridubertum.

⁸⁶ Friduualdum.

Anno dcc xxx vii nimia siccitas terram fecit infecundam, et ceoluulfus sua voluntate attonsus, regnum eadberto reliquit.

Anno ab incarnatione dcc xxx nono, edilhardus⁸⁷ occidentalium saxonum rex obiit, et nothelmus⁸⁸ archiepiscopus.

Anno ab incarnatione domini [fol. 160v] septingentesimo quadragésimo cudbertus⁸⁹ per nothelmuo⁹⁰ consecratus est, edilbaldus rex merciorum per impiam fraudem vastabat partem northanymbrorum⁹¹, eratque rex eorum eadbertus⁹² occupatus cum suo exercitu contra pictos, ediluualdus⁹³ quoque episcopus obiit, et pro eo emiuulfus⁹⁴ ordinatur antistes, arnuuini et eadbertus interempti.

Anno dcc quadragésimo primo siccitas magna terram occupavit, karolus rex francorum obiit, et pro eo filius eius ceolymon⁹⁵ et pippin regnum acceperunt.

Anno dcc xl quinto vuilfridus episcopus et ingualdus lundonie episcopus migraverunt ad dominum.

Anno dcc xl vii herefridus⁹⁶ vir dei obiit.

Anno dcc quinquagesimo cuthredus rex occidentalium saxonum surrexit contra edilbaldum regem et oengusum theodorus atque eanredus⁹⁷ obiit, eatbertus⁹⁸ campum cyil cum aliis regionibus suo regno addidit.

Anno dcc l xvi anno regis eatberti⁹⁹ quinto idus ianuaras eglypsis¹⁰⁰ solis facta est, et nec mora postea eodem anno et mense hoc est nona kalendarum februarium luna eglypsin¹⁰¹ pertulit horrendo et nigerrimo scuto ita ut sol paulo ante cooperta.

Anno dcc l iiii bonifacius qui et uuinfridus francorum episcopus cum quinquaginta tribus martyrio coronatur, et per eo rehdgerus consecratur archiepiscopus a stephano papa.

⁸⁷ Edilhard.

⁸⁸ Nothelm.

⁸⁹ Cudberth.

⁹⁰ Nothelmo.

⁹¹ Nordanhymbrorum.

⁹² Eadberth.

⁹³ Aediluuald.

⁹⁴ Cyniuulf.

⁹⁵ Karloman.

⁹⁶ Herefrid.

⁹⁷ Eanred.

⁹⁸ Eadberth.

⁹⁹ Eadberti.

¹⁰⁰ eclipsis.

¹⁰¹ eclipsim.

Anno dcc l vii edibaldus¹⁰² rex merciorum a suis tutoribus nocte morte fraudulenta miserabiliter peremptus occubuit, beornredus¹⁰³ regnare cepit, cyniuulfus rex occidentalium saxonum obiit, eodem etiam anno offa fugato beornredo merciorum regnum sanguinolento quesivit gladio.

Anno dcc l viii eatbertus¹⁰⁴ [fol. 161r] rex northanymbrorum¹⁰⁵ ~~rex~~ dei amoris causa et celestis patrie violentia accepta sancti petri tonsura filio suo osuulfo regnum reliquit.

Anno dcc l nono osuulfus¹⁰⁶ a suis ministris facinore occisus est, et ediluualdus¹⁰⁷ anno eodem a sua plebe electus intravit in regnum, cuius secundo anno magna tribulatio mortalitatis venit, et duobus ferme annis permansit populantibus duris ac diversis egritudinibus, maxime tamen dysenterie¹⁰⁸ languore.

Anno dcc lx primo oengus pictorum rex obiit, qui regni sui principium usque ad finem facinore cruentum tyrannus carnifex perduxit, et osvuini occisus est.

Anno dcc lx quinto aluchredus¹⁰⁹ rex susceptus est in regnum.

Anno dcc lx vi egbertus¹¹⁰ archiepiscopus prosapia regali ditatus ac divina scientia imbutus¹¹¹, et frithubertus vere fideles episcopi ad dominum migraverunt.

¹⁰² Aedilbald.

¹⁰³ Beornred.

¹⁰⁴ Eadbertus.

¹⁰⁵ Nordanhymbrorum.

¹⁰⁶ Osuulf.

¹⁰⁷ Ediluuald.

¹⁰⁸ dysenteriae.

¹⁰⁹ Aluchred.

¹¹⁰ Ecgbertus.

¹¹¹ inbutus.

Appendix 2:

Transcription of De duobus clericis (fos 167v–168v)

De duobus clericis quorum alter alteri post mortem apparuit. CIVITAS EST¹¹² britannie namnetis¹¹³ nomine dicta¹¹⁴, in qua erant clerici duo, idemque presbiteri, necdum annis aut meritis patientibus; erant enim iuvenes¹¹⁵, et sicut unus eorum fine suo docuit ad hoc officium parum maturis moribus,¹¹⁶ sapientia mundali que per se dum taxat stulticia est apud deum, adeo pollebant, ut quantum intellectus naturalis admittit, non multum ipsis deberent artibus. Amicitia vero quedam ita eos devinxerat¹¹⁷, ut iuxta comici illius dictum, manibus pedibusque conando periculum etiam capitis¹¹⁸ faciendo, neuter ab alterius dissentiret conatibus. Hi quadam¹¹⁹ die inter se exortis¹²⁰ fabulis, dum sermocinando aliquot horas continuant, unus eorum¹²¹, nescio quo instinctu quedam prelibans seria, in hanc devolutus est sententiam. Satis ait o amice liberalium artium studiosi fructum qualemcumque qui in his redolet decerpsimus, satis superfluo labore in his studiis adolescentiam nostram detrivimus; cum inter studendum imminentem mortem nullo ingenio¹²² evadimus. Huc accedit mirari illam in remeabilem¹²³ viam universe carnis, que omnes ita¹²⁴ traducit, ut neminem reducat, ita omnes¹²⁵ quedam mirabilis et inextricabilis custodia claudit¹²⁶, ut quo devenerint, quid agant¹²⁷, quid ve patiantur, utrum salventur an pereant, nulli in carne viventium innotescat. Ad hec alter quorsum ait amice¹²⁸ animum intendas non possum satis advertere, presertim cum talia velle scrutari extreme sit dementie, ut nunc his rebus invigilet¹²⁹ christianorum temeritas, in quibus hactenus¹³⁰ ne gentilium quidem se excitavit improbitas. Aut siquis tibi videtur affectus cui mea opera¹³¹ possit adesse, in me mora¹³² nulla erit¹³³. Nam ita a pueritia conviximus¹³⁴, ut quid vis pati, mutua¹³⁵ ab invicem exigat amicitia. At ille college assensum

¹¹² C₁, C₂: Civitas est brittannie.

¹¹³ C₁: ~~namnetis~~.

¹¹⁴ C₁, C₂: dicta nomine.

¹¹⁵ C₁, C₂: valde iuvenes.

¹¹⁶ C₁, C₂: moribus; Sapientia.

¹¹⁷ C₁, C₂: invicem devinxerat.

¹¹⁸ C₁, C₂: *om.* capitis.

¹¹⁹ C₂: quodam.

¹²⁰ C₁, C₂: exortis inter se.

¹²¹ C₁, C₂: *om.* eorum.

¹²² C₂: ingenio ~~ingenio~~.

¹²³ C₁, C₂: irremeabilem.

¹²⁴ C₁, C₂: ita omnes.

¹²⁵ C₁, C₂: *om.* omnes.

¹²⁶ C₁, C₂: omnes claudit.

¹²⁷ C₁, C₂: *om.* quid agant.

¹²⁸ C₁, C₂: o amice.

¹²⁹ C₁, C₂: sciendis invigilet.

¹³⁰ C₁, C₂: actenus.

¹³¹ C₁, C₂: opera mea.

¹³² C₁: memora; C₂: immemorial.

¹³³ C₁, C₂: non erit ulla.

¹³⁴ C₁: conviximus.

¹³⁵ C₁, C₂: quid vis facere aut pati.

intuens¹³⁶, mutuam in quid¹³⁷ fidem nobis demus eamque sacramento iusiurandi¹³⁸ confirmemus, id inter nos deponentes, ut qui prior ex nobis obierit, infra xxx¹³⁹ dies nulla occasione prohibente ad viventem redeat¹⁴⁰, et quicquid viderit per se¹⁴¹, quicquid in seipso vel penale vel veniale expertus fuerit magis credendus ex visu quam ex auditu indicare non omittat. Ne longius traham sermonem, fides mutua datur, sacramento iuxta condictum firmatur. Et¹⁴² non multo post unum eorum mors acerba valde imparatum¹⁴³ preoccupat; alium saluti sue post modum¹⁴⁴ provisurum reservat, ille qui cui vult miseretur, et quem vult indurat. Relictus quidem super terram vivus non iocose iam¹⁴⁵ de fide et sacramento cogitans, socium suum iam mortuum quocumque loco¹⁴⁶ emergeret infra triginta dies ut dictum erat prestolatur. Sed cum non rediret qui mortuus fuerat, tam temerarium et¹⁴⁷ illum fuisse reprehendit qui sua auctoritate post mortem remeandi libertatem dedissent animabus. Verum elapso termino sue dispositionis, dispositio divina suum placitum effecit, apparuit que college¹⁴⁸ suo defunctus¹⁴⁹ viventi, non in somnis¹⁵⁰ sed vigilanti clara die, et alicui intento operi. Admiratus valde intendens in eum qui sibi apparuerat, diu silentium tenuit; donec is qui mortuus fuerat prior proloquens, tristi vultu et voce quid se aspiceret et an se agnosceret inquisivit. Agnosco ait, nec tantum miror licet mirandum sit, quia te video¹⁵¹, quantum quia statuto termino ad me non redisti¹⁵²; cum id inter nos firmatum fuerit fide et sacramento. At ille pretenta impossibilitate, id breviter excusans respondit. Redeo frater¹⁵³ et amice, quam primum potui, nimiumque veram veritatem de me reportans tibi appareo consulturus tue saluti si velis, qui michi ultra consulere non¹⁵⁴ valeo. Cumque socius eius adhuc vivens se sua que¹⁵⁵ omnia ad liberationem eius devotus offerret, se quidem spondens precibus pro eo acturum, sua vero pauperibus erogaturum et ecclesiis, monasteriis¹⁵⁶, ad extremum quibuscumque posset servis dei ut pro eo orarent suggesturum; nichil sibi pro futurum respondit, ut pote qui eternis deputatus esset suppliciis. Tibi autem ait consule, ne his quas patior inenarrabilibus communices¹⁵⁷ penis. De quibus

¹³⁶ C₁, C₂: assensum college intuens.

¹³⁷ C₁, C₂: inquit.

¹³⁸ C₁, C₂: iurisiurandi.

¹³⁹ C₁, C₂: triginta.

¹⁴⁰ C₁, C₂: veniat.

¹⁴¹ C₁, C₂: per se viderit.

¹⁴² C₁, C₂: firmatur, cum non.

¹⁴³ C₁, C₂: imperatum.

¹⁴⁴ C₁, C₂: postmodum.

¹⁴⁵ C₁, C₂: sed iam.

¹⁴⁶ C₁, C₂: *om.* loco.

¹⁴⁷ C₁, C₂: temerarium se et.

¹⁴⁸ C₁, C₂: apparuit mortuus college.

¹⁴⁹ C₁, C₂: *om.* defunctus.

¹⁵⁰ C₁: sonnis.

¹⁵¹ C₁, C₂: te ita video.

¹⁵² C₁, C₂: rediisti.

¹⁵³ C₁, C₂: o frater.

¹⁵⁴ C₁, C₂: consulere ultra non.

¹⁵⁵ C₁, C₂: suaque.

¹⁵⁶ C₁, C₂: monasteriisque.

¹⁵⁷ C₁, C₂: communices inenarrabilibus.

quidem velles audire, sed adeo vehementes sunt, ut sint incredibiles; quarum vel minimam vix acerbiori materialium penarum compares. Et ut facilius credas, curvat compositis digitis manum profluentem guttatim sanie¹⁵⁸ quasi aqua¹⁵⁹. En unam de minimis. Videtur ne tibi esse levis. Levem se putare cum responderet, excussa manu, quatuor guttas iecit super eum, quarum due utrinque¹⁶⁰ faciem eius¹⁶¹ prope oculos, due utrasque manus retro pollices quasi ignito cauterio perforaverunt; locumque capacem nucis [cont. C₁: effecerunt. Occidisti me exclamat, intolerabilius quam ab igne cauteriatus. Et vix tandem leviato dolore ardoris, consilium expetit, quo possit evadere tam pessimos cruciatus. Ut seculo renuntians monachum profiteatur persuadet, locumque redonis in britannia in monasterio sancti melanii designans; ne quicquid differat admonet, cum ignarus sit, quid superventura pariat dies. Et adhuc inquit habeo tibi aliquid ostendere. Simulque aperta manu dextra ostendit terris litteris volam inscriptam, que quidem per se enunciari faciles erant, in sillabas autem vel dictiones formari, minime ab eo cui¹⁶² ostendebantur poterant. Legere commonitus, cum responderet se quidem cernere scripture similitudinem, ne autem legeret obstare quanda¹⁶³ confusionis barbariem, ille aliquantum exprobens ingenio eius quod alias acutum hic tam facile retunderetur, in sinistra manu alios intelligibiles characteres obtulit, quos attendens legit et intellexit, et sepe iteratos memorie commendavit. Exemplar scripture apud patrias ita celebre et vulgare est, ut non solum a clericis sed etiam a quibusdam laicis memoriter teneatur. Nos autem litteraturam minus assecuti sensum exponimus littere, qui non nimis veritati refragetur. Gratulabunda salutatione grates agebat satanas, grates agebant et demones episcopis, archidiaconibus et parrochianis presbiteris, quod scilicet eorum perditis exemplis subiecti, ad omnem iniquitatem devoluti filii facti essent eterne perditionis, et cotidie absque ulla intercapedine ad infernum descenderet inestimabilis multitudo promiscui sexus et etatis, et id esse in causa quod nunc magis quam priscis temporibus grates ascenderent de inferno, quia nullis retroactis seculis populus christianorum ita ut nunc se devovissent diaboli¹⁶⁴ servicio. His omnibus visis et auditis spiritus qui apparuerat evanuit, eique qui hoc viderat et audierat et pariter in seipso acerrime expertus fuerat magna utilitatem sue conversationis reliquit. Nam maturius quia¹⁶⁵ potuit consilium de monachatu subeundo adimplens, recta via preter quod quendam heremitam sibi notum et amicum usitatum de omnibus his edocuit, et ut eundem ordinem subiret animavit, monasterium sancti melanii expetiit, et regulari discipline subiectus vestigiis illate sibi pene nichil se vanum indisse asseruit, et de conservatione sua omnes provocat ut dicant. Hec mutatio dextere excelsi, qui vivit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen.]

¹⁵⁸ C₁, C₂: saniem.

¹⁵⁹ C₁, C₂: aquam.

¹⁶⁰ C₁: utrimque; C₂: utramque.

¹⁶¹ C₁, C₂: om. eius.

¹⁶² C₂: qui.

¹⁶³ C₂: quondam.

¹⁶⁴ C₂: dyaboli.

¹⁶⁵ C₂: quam.

Editorial note on the transcription and critical apparatus: in transcribing and editing the Latin text, I have opted for a diplomatic edition that maintains the manuscripts' original orthography. Orthographic variants are listed in full in the apparatus, as are transpositions of word order. Latin(ised) personal and place names have not been capitalised unless this is the case in the manuscripts. The medieval allographic convention of rendering '-ae'/'-ae-' as '-e'/'-e-' has been maintained. The medieval system of punctuation (*positurae*) has been converted into its modern equivalent.

Appendix 3: Figures

[INSERT FIG. 1]

Fig. 1: Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Latin 182, book block. Reproduced by kind permission of The John Rylands Library (The University of Manchester Library)

[INSERT FIG. 2]

Fig. 2: Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Latin 182, back board. Reproduced by kind permission of The John Rylands Library (The University of Manchester Library)

[INSERT FIG. 3]

Fig. 3: Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Latin 182, fol. 4r. Reproduced by kind permission of The John Rylands Library (The University of Manchester Library)

[INSERT FIG. 4]

Fig. 4: Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Latin 182, fol. 1r. Reproduced by kind permission of The John Rylands Library (The University of Manchester Library)

[INSERT FIG. 5]

Fig. 5: Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Latin 182, fore edge. Reproduced by kind permission of The John Rylands Library (The University of Manchester Library)

[INSERT FIG. 6]

Fig. 6: Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Latin 182, fol. 162v. Reproduced by kind permission of The John Rylands Library (The University of Manchester Library)

[INSERT FIG. 7]

Fig. 7: Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Latin 182, fol. 167v. Reproduced by kind permission of The John Rylands Library (The University of Manchester Library)

[INSERT FIG. 8]

Fig. 8: Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS B 220 (210), fol. 109r. Reproduced by kind permission of the Médiathèque d'Agglomération de Cambrai

[INSERT FIG. 9]

Fig. 9: Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS B 818 (723), fol. 143r. Reproduced by kind permission of the Médiathèque d'Agglomération de Cambrai

[INSERT FIG. 10]

Fig. 10: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Lat. 18134, fol. 237r (detail). © Gallica – Reproduced by kind permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France

[INSERT FIG. 11]

Fig. 11: Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek (Leihgabe Leipziger Stadtbibliothek), MS Repr. I 58a, fol. 123v. Reproduced by kind permission of the Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig

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¹ The most recent and complete list of manuscripts of the *Historia ecclesiastica* is provided by J. A. Westgard, 'Dissemination and Reception of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* in Germany, c.731–1500: The Manuscript Evidence' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2005), pp. 135–41.

² M. Ziegelbauer and O. Legipont, *Historia Rei Literariae Ordinis S. Benedicti*, 4 vols (Augsburg, Veith, 1754), I, p. 511.

³ E. Martène and U. Durand, *Voyage littéraire de deux religieux bénédictins de la congrégation de S. Maur*, 2 vols (Paris, Montalant, 1717–24), II, p. 205: '[N]ous vîmes la bibliothèque, qui dans le pays doit passer pour excellente'. A similar judgement can be found in Ziegelbauer and Legipont, *Historia*, I, p. 511: *Ejus Bibliotheca suam meretur laudem, tum ex concinna partier ac erudite librorum dispositione, cum ex selectu atque manuscriptorum copia et praetiositate*.

⁴ Martène and Durand, *Voyage littéraire*, II, pp. 205–7.

⁵ Raves' list was edited most recently by R. Kottje and E. M. Wermter (eds), *Der Bücherbesitz des Klosters St. Vitus in Gladbach von der Gründung bis zur Auflösung des Klosters, 974–1802*, 2 vols (Cologne, Hiersemann, 1998), II, pp. 239–40 (see *ibid.*, p. 11 for the historical context of the list). Raves in 1792 listed a copy of Bede's *Commentary of the Gospel of St Luke* (*ibid.*, p. 239, no. 9: '1 Tomus. V. Bedae Commentarius in Lucam'), but not the *Ecclesiastical History*. For a previous edition and study of the list, see A. Wendehorst, 'Zur Geschichte der Gladbacher Abteibibliothek', *Lebendiges Münster: Mitteilungen des Münster-Bauvereins*, 2 (1954), 83–90 (pp. 89–90). Also cf. P. Bloch, 'Ein romanisches Widmungsblatt aus Gladbach', in G. Bandmann, *Der Mensch und die Künste: Festschrift für Heinrich Lützel zum 60. Geburtstag* (Düsseldorf, Schwann, 1962), pp. 403–11.

⁶ Véron and Gancel's list has been edited by Kottje and Wermter, *Bücherbesitz*, II, pp. 240–1. Previous editions include H. Knaus, 'Sieben Gladbacher Handschriften in Darmstadt', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 1 (1958), 374–80. Also cf. K. H. Staub and H. Knaus (eds), *Die Handschriften der hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt, vol. 4: Bibelhandschriften* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1979), p. 109.

⁷ Kottje and Wermter, *Bücherbesitz*, II, p. 246, no. 111: 'Venerabilis Bedae opera. Basil. 1563. 4 Vol. fol.'. The full list is edited in *ibid.*, pp. 241–72.

⁸ On Gladbach's monastic library, see particularly R. Kottje, 'Bibliothek as Spiegel der Geschichte', in S. Krämer and M. Bernhard (eds), *Scire litteras: Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Geistesleben* (München, Beck, 1988), pp. 241–8. On the abbey's history and its dissolution in 1802, see W. Löhr, 'Die Auflösung der Abtei Gladbach', in J. Cladders and H. van der Grinten (eds), *Die Abtei Gladbach 974–1802: Ausstellung zur Jahrtausendfeier der Gründung* (Mönchengladbach, Städtisches Museum, 1974), pp. 119–22; N. A. Holtschuppen, *St. Vitus zu Gladbach*, 2 vols (Essen, Klartext, 2008). See also H. Borger, *Das Münster St. Vitus zu Mönchen-Gladbach* (Essen, Fredebeul & Koenen, 1958).

⁹ The flyleaf attached to the inside of the manuscript's front cover contains various notes to that end: 'R 23215; Latin MSS. 243 182; Phillipps Sale, 1910 (72).'

¹⁰ M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library at Manchester*, 2 vols (Manchester, Longmans, 1921), I, pp. 308–9 (= no. 182).

¹¹ Kottje and Wermter, *Bücherbesitz*, I.i, pp. 98–100 (= no. 34).

¹² For example, P. Bloch and H. Bange (eds), *Glabacher Handschriften aus der ehemaligen Benediktiner-Abtei St. Vitus: Ausstellung vom 9. April bis 31. Mai 1964* (Mönchengladbach, Stadtbibliothek, 1964), pp. 13–14 (= no. 10). See also the contributions to J. Cladders and H. van der Grinten (eds), *Die Abtei Gladbach 974–1802: Ausstellung zur Jahrtausendfeier der Gründung* (Mönchengladbach, Städtisches Museum, 1974).

¹³ Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, OUP, 1969), p. lxxviii (hereafter *HEGA*). Unless otherwise indicated, all subsequent quotations (except those from MS Latin 182 itself) are taken from this edition. MS Latin 182 was not used by Charles Plummer in his earlier edition of the *Historia ecclesiastica* (published 1896), nor by Michael Lapidge and Paolo Chiesa in their more recent edition and translation of the text into Italian; see Bede, *Storia degli inglesi: Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, ed. M. Lapidge and P. Chiesa, 2 vols (Milan, Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 2008), I, pp. lxxxv–cxv.

¹⁴ The one notable exception is Westgard, 'Dissemination', which still awaits its publication. Joshua Westgard is currently preparing a monograph-length study on the manuscript tradition of the *Historia ecclesiastica*, as well as a critical edition of the *Continuatio Bedae*. I am very grateful to him for sharing with me his detailed knowledge about the *Historia ecclesiastica* and its use and transmission in medieval Germany.

¹⁵ R. H. C. Davis, 'Bede after Bede', in C. Harper-Bill, C. J. Holdsworth and J. L. Nelson (eds), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown* (Woodbridge, Boydell, 1989), pp. 103–16; A. Gransden, 'Bede's Reputation as an Historian in Medieval England', in A. Gransden (ed.), *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England* (London, Hambledon, 1992), pp. 1–29; A. Gransden, 'Prologues in the Historiography of Twelfth-Century England', in A. Gransden (ed.), *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England* (London, Hambledon, 1992), pp. 125–51; D. E. Greenway, 'Henry of Huntingdon and Bede', in J.-P. Genet (ed.), *L'historiographie médiévale en Europe* (Paris, Ed. du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1991), pp. 43–50.

¹⁶ Examples include N. J. Higham, *(Re-)Reading Bede: the Ecclesiastical History in Context* (London, Routledge, 2006); T. J. Furry, *Allegorizing History: The Venerable Bede, Figural Exegesis and Historical Theory* (Cambridge, James Clarke, 2013); S. D. DeGregorio, 'Visions of Reform: Bede's Later Writings in Context', in P. Darby and F. Wallis (eds), *Bede and the Future* (Burlington, Ashgate, 2014), pp. 207–32.

¹⁷ T. Webber, 'Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* as a Source of Lessons in Pre- and Post-Conquest England', in M. Brett and D. A. Woodman (eds), *The Long Twelfth-Century View of the Anglo-Saxon Past* (London, Routledge, 2015), pp. 47–74.

¹⁸ Webber, 'Source of Lessons', pp. 65–70.

¹⁹ For example, M. E. Fassler, 'The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules and Customaries: A Preliminary Investigation', *Early Music History*, 5 (1985), 29–51; M. E. Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2010); S. Boynton, 'Writing History with Liturgy', in R. A. Maxwell (ed.), *Representing History, 900–1300: Art, Music, History* (University Park, PA, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), pp. 187–200; S. Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2006). See also the various contributions to H. Gittos and S. Hamilton (eds), *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2015); K. Bugyis, A. B. Kraebel and M. E. Fassler (eds), *Medieval Cantors and their Craft: Music, Liturgy and the Shaping of History, 800–1500* (Woodbridge, Boydell, 2016).

²⁰ B. Pohl, '"One Single Letter Remained in Excess of All His Sins...": Orderic Vitalis and Cultural Memory', in C. C. Rozier, D. Roach, G. E. M. Gasper and E. M. C. van Houts (eds), *Orderic Vitalis: Life, Works and Interpretations* (Woodbridge, Boydell, 2016), pp. 333–51.

²¹ See below, note 102.

²² Most notably S. M. Rowley, 'Reassessing Exegetical Interpretations of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*', *Literature and Theology*, 17:3 (2003), 227–43; S. M. Rowley, 'Reading Miracles in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*', (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1996); J. T. Rosenthal, 'Bede's Use of Miracles in the *Ecclesiastical History*', *Traditio*, 31 (1975), 328–35; W. D. McCready, *Miracles and the Venerable Bede* (Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1994).

²³ R. D. Ray, 'Who Did Bede Think He Was?', in S. D. DeGregorio (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede* (Morgantown, West Virginia University Press, 2006), pp. 11–36.

²⁴ This 'textual province' was first identified by Colgrave and Mynors in *HEGA*, pp. lxxv–lxxix. Also cf. the more recent discussion and partial revision by Westgard, 'Dissemination', pp. 29–45. Westgard has identified another twelfth-century copy of the *Historia ecclesiastica* that contains the *Continuatio Bedae*, Prague, Strahovská knihovna, MS DF III 1 (now accessible online: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-KKPS_DF_III_1_1UALAWF-cs#search, accessed 4 Oct 2016). (ibid., pp. 38–39). Note, however, that the online catalogue dates this manuscript to the thirteenth century ('13. Století'). Apart from the *Historia ecclesiastica* (fos 1r–76v), the Prague manuscript also contains copies of Vincent of Prague's *Chronicon Boemorum* (fos 77v–87r), Gerlach of Mühlhausen's *Chronicon Boemorum* (fos 87v–93v, 111r–112v) and Ansbertus' *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris* (fos 94r–110v). Also cf. J. Story, 'After Bede:

Continuing the *Ecclesiastical History*', in S. D. Baxter (ed.), *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2009), pp. 165–84 (pp. 177–8).

²⁵ At this point, I would like to express my gratitude to Elaine Sheldon and Laura Caradonna, who during my Fellowship at the John Rylands Research Institute have kindly advised me on the various material aspects of MS Latin 182. The information provided in the following paragraphs is the proud result of this fruitful collaboration.

²⁶ J. A. Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 1999), pp. 140–1.

²⁷ Cf. the stitched corners depicted in Szirmai, *Bookbinding*, pp. 163–4.

²⁸ The binding of MS Latin 182 thus would have resembled that depicted in Szirmai, *Bookbinding*, p. 166. It is possible, of course, that this metal furniture was added at a later stage.

²⁹ Szirmai, *Bookbinding*, p. 167 references seventeen examples.

³⁰ The quire structure given in Kottje and Wermter, *Bücherbesitz*, I, i, p. 98 is mistaken.

³¹ See E. Kwakkel, 'Biting, Kissing and the Treatment of Feet: The Transitional Script of the Long Twelfth Century', in E. Kwakkel, R. McKitterick and R. M. Thomson (eds), *Turning Over a New Leaf: Change and Development in the Medieval Book* (Leiden, Leiden University Press, 2012), pp. 79–125, 206–8. More generally A. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003).

³² Kwakkel, 'Biting', p. 206.

³³ Kwakkel, 'Biting', p. 207.

³⁴ The numbers of the folia marked with a single asterisk (*) follow the manuscript's current foliation, which does not take into account the loss of bifolium 99v–100r (see above); by contrast, the folia marked with a double asterisk (**) do reflect the loss of bifolia 165v–166r, 166v–167r, 169r–176v.

³⁵ These ascenders are much more pronounced in the chapter lists of Books 1 and 2 than in those of Books 3–5, the latter of which contain no more than a handful of examples each; some of these ascenders also occur in the rubrics of the main text (e.g., fol. 4r: 'liber'). Additional palaeographical features that deserve mention for reasons of dating and localisation include word division at the end of a line/column, which is indicated by means of a diagonal hairline stroke. An oblique hairline stroke is used above '-ii' and '-ii-', but not above single '-i'/'-i-', which is worth noting in a late twelfth-century manuscript given its increasingly frequent use from c.1200 onwards. 'Et' is consistently abbreviated by means of a ligature, rather than the Tironian note. Ligatures are used frequently (e.g., 'It' and 'or'), but curiously the 'ct' ligature is absent. Punctuation is achieved through consistent use of the following *positurae*: *punctus simplex* (for minor medial and final pauses), *punctus elevatus* (for major medial pauses) and *punctus interrogativus* (at the end of interrogative sentences). The structure of the text is articulated by means of major foliate initials (in blue, green and yellow, with a red outline) at the opening of the *Historia ecclesiastica*'s prologue (fol. 1v) and each of its five books (fos 4r, 32r, 56v, 90v and 124v), and, throughout the volume, the *paragraphus* (sometimes stroked with red) to indicate more minor divisions. *Litterae notabiliores* similarly stroked with red also mark the start of new sections. Passages of verse (e.g., fos 108v–109r, 130r–131r, 147v) are copied in short lines, each introduced with an enlarged initial, alternating between red and brown ink. All these elements, except perhaps the major initials, were executed by the same scribe to a very high standard. On punctuation in medieval Latin manuscripts, see principally M. B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Berkeley, Scholar Press, 1992). The major foliate initials form a common feature amongst the *Historia ecclesiastica*'s twelfth-century copies; see the discussion of such opening initials as *aides-mémoires* by S. Levell, 'Citation and Misappropriation in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannie* and the Anglo-Latin Historiographical Tradition', in G. Di Bacco and Y. Plumley (eds), *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, 2 vols (Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 2013), II, pp. 137–47.

³⁶ MS Latin 182, fol. 9v: *Hic constantinus filius ex concubina helena creatum...*

³⁷ MS Latin 182, fol. 10r: *Francis transito rheno totas per gallias...*

³⁸ MS Latin 182, fol. 12r: *...cuius anno imperii sept octavo patricius palladius...*

³⁹ A similar technique was sometimes used to produce what is known as 'scratched glosses' or 'dry point glosses' (*Griffelglossen*); see H. Meritt, 'Old English Scratched Glosses in Cotton Ms. Tiberius C. II', *The American Journal of Philology*, 54:4 (1933): 305–22; P. G. Rusche, 'Dry-Point Glosses to Aldhelm's *De laudibus virginittatis* in Beinecke 401', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 23 (1994), 195–213. Principally A. Nievergelt, *Althochdeutsch in Runenschrift: Geheimschriftliche volkssprachige Griffelglossen* (Stuttgart, Hirzel, 2009); A. Nievergelt, *Die Glossierung der Handschrift Clm 18547b: Ein Beitrag zur Funktionalität der mittelalterlichen Griffelglossierung* (Heidelberg, Winter, 2007).

⁴⁰ Bloch and Bange, *Handschriften*, n.p.

⁴¹ Ziegelbauer and Legipont, *Historia*, I, p. 511, where these categories are given as: 'A. Biblia sacra et Concordantiae; B. SS. Patres et Concilia; C. Commentatores et Interpretes S. Scripturae; D. Theologi Scholastici; E. Controversistae, seu Polemici; F. Morales et Casuistae; G. Catechetici; H. Homiletici; I. Locorum communium Scriptores; L. Juristae; M. Medici; N. Philosophi; O. Ethici; P. Historici; Q. Humaniores et Philologi'. Also cf. Kottje and Wermter, *Bücherbesitz*, II, p. 11; Bloch and Bange, *Handschriften*, n.p.

- ⁴² A good overview of the range of products from Gladbach's medieval scriptorium (featuring numerous plates in colour and black/white) is provided by Kottje and Wermter, *Bücherbesitz*, I.ii.
- ⁴³ H. Bange and W. Löhr, 'Gladbach', in R. Haacke (ed.), *Die Benediktinerklöster in Nordrhein-Westfalen* (St Ottilien, Laach, 1980), pp. 323–50 (p. 340); Kottje, 'Bibliothek', p. 242.
- ⁴⁴ See the examples listed by P. Bloch, 'Bibliothek und Skriptorium', in J. Cladders and H. van der Grinten (eds), *Die Abtei Gladbach 974–1802: Ausstellung zur Jahrtausendfeier der Gründung* (Mönchengladbach, Städtisches Museum, 1974), pp. 85–90, as well as R. Kottje, 'Bibliothek', p. 242, note 6.
- ⁴⁵ On the decoration of this manuscript, see Kottje and Wermter, *Bücherbesitz*, I.i, pp. 9–12 (= no. 4), as well as the reproductions in *ibid.*, I.ii, plates I, 20–34.
- ⁴⁶ Kottje and Wermter, *Bücherbesitz*, I.i, pp. 85–9 (= no. 29), plus *ibid.*, I.ii, plates XIII–XV, 183–6.
- ⁴⁷ Kottje and Wermter, *Bücherbesitz*, I.i, pp. 90–3 (= no. 31), plus *ibid.*, I.ii, plates XVII, 193–7.
- ⁴⁸ This initial has been reproduced in full colour by Kottje and Wermter, *Bücherbesitz*, I.ii, plate XX. Also cf. The manuscript's description in *ibid.*, I.i, pp. 141–2 (= no. 60).
- ⁴⁹ This distinction between the 'm-type' and the 'c-type recension' was first introduced in *HEGA*, pp. xlii–xlvi. Also cf. Westgard, 'Dissemination', pp. 23–8 (which offers a provisional *stemma codicum*); Story, 'After Bede', pp. 166–7.
- ⁵⁰ Story, 'After Bede', pp. 177–8.
- ⁵¹ *HEGA*, pp. lxviii–lxix.
- ⁵² Westgard, 'Dissemination', pp. 38–9. See also Story, 'After Bede', p. 177.
- ⁵³ Münster, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Fragmentensammlung, Kaps. 1,3. I am grateful to Westgard for providing me with this valuable information.
- ⁵⁴ Westgard, 'Dissemination', pp. 23–4.
- ⁵⁵ Westgard, 'Dissemination', pp. 142–7 provides a transcription of the *Continuatio Bedae* according to Prague, Strahovská knihovna, MS DF III 1 and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Cod. 13707; Story, 'After Bede', pp. 183–4 offers a transcription of the annals 731–4 from the so-called 'Moore Manuscript' (London, British Library, MS Harley 3680).
- ⁵⁶ *HEGA*, p. 380 note c.
- ⁵⁷ Curiously, the list of chapters that precedes Book 1 (fos 3r–v) only counts a total of thirty-four chapters (which is the correct number), whereas the actual text – due to the scribe's mistake – has thirty-five chapters.
- ⁵⁸ Again, this is out of line with the list of chapter headings that precedes Book 2 in the manuscript (fos 31v–32r).
- ⁵⁹ This concerns fos 96r ('INTEREA colmannus...'), which should be rubricated as Chapter 4) and 98r ('NON multo post haec...', which should be Chapter 6); at the same time, the rubric for Chapter 5 on fol. 97v ('Anno dominicae incarnationis sexcentesimo septuagesimo qui est annus secundus...') mistakenly reads 'VI'. The correct sequence of chapter numbers is restored from fol. 98v onwards ('VII. IN hoc etenim monasterio...') due to the missing rubric on fol. 98r (see above).
- ⁶⁰ What should be Chapter 16 [14] on fol. 104r ('Postquam ergo ceadwala...') is not set apart from the previous chapter either, leading to the erroneous rubrication of the next chapter (fol. 104v, 'HIS TEMPORIBUS audiens theodorus...') as Chapter 15 ('XV'). This is consistent with the alternative chapter numbers given in square brackets by Colgrave and Mynors; cf. *HEGA*, pp. 382 ff. This consistency is negated from Chapter 29 [27] onwards, however, which on fol. 120v ('Duobus denique [*HEGA*, p. 438 reads 'autem'] annis...') is not separated properly, meaning that the next chapter on the same folio ('ERAT ENIM VITE venerabilis presbiter...') becomes Chapter 27 (rubricated 'XXVII'). Given that Chapter 30 [28] (fol. 121v, 'VOLENS enim latius...') does not have a rubric at all, the paragraph beginning with 'ERAT IN EODEM monasterio...' (fol. 122v) becomes Chapter 28 instead (rubricated 'XXVIII'). The rubric for Chapter 32 [30] on fol. 123r is also omitted.
- ⁶¹ Cf. *HEGA*, p. 465.
- ⁶² Cf. *HEGA*, pp. 462–4.
- ⁶³ For example, the omission of the rubric for Chapter 11 (fol. 133v, 'Primis sane temporibus adventus...') means that the next paragraph (fol. 134v, 'HIS TEMPORIBUS miraculum...') takes its place (rubricated 'XI'), thereby decreasing the sequence of the subsequent chapters by -1. Equally, the rubric for Chapter 23 (fol. 157r, 'Anno dominicae incarnationis septingentesimo tricesimo primo berthvualdus...') is missing entirely.
- ⁶⁴ Cf. *HEGA*, p. 560.
- ⁶⁵ The book lists only contain a single copy of the *Historia ecclesiastica*, which is indexed alongside copies of Bede's other works, including his *Expositio in Lucam* and *Expositio in Marci evangelium*. At the time of Gladbach's dissolution in 1802, its library held over 3000 volumes. On Gladbach's medieval library and its catalogues, see A. Wendehorst, 'Zur Geschichte der Gladbacher Abteibibliothek II: Ehemalige Gladbacher Handschriften in englischen und amerikanischen Bibliotheken', *Lebendiges Münster: Mitteilungen des Münster-Bauvereins*, 3 (1956), 52–4. See also Kottje, 'Bibliothek', 243–5; Westgard, 'Dissemination', 118–24. More generally, see R. M. Thomson, 'The Place of Germany in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: Books, Scriptoria and Libraries', in E. Kwakkel, R. McKitterick and R. M. Thomson (eds), *Turning Over a New Leaf: Change and Development in the Medieval Book* (Leiden, Leiden University Press, 2012), pp. 127–63.

- ⁶⁶ Story, 'After Bede', p. 179. See also Kottje and Wermter, *Bücherbesitz*, I.i, p. 100.
- ⁶⁷ The most recent and preferred critical edition/translation of the *Visio Wettini* is Walahfrid Strabo, *Visio Wettini*, ed. W. Berschin and H. Knittel, 3rd ed (Heidelberg, Mattes, 2009). Previous editions include Walahfrid Strabo, *Walahfrid Strabo's Visio Wettini: Text, Translation and Commentary*, ed. D. A. Traill (Bern, Lang, 1974). On the *Visio Wettini*'s manuscript tradition, see R. Pollard, 'Nonantola and Reichenau: A New Manuscript of Heito's *Visio Wettini* and the Foundations for a New Critical Edition', *Revue bénédictine*, 120:2 (2010), 243–94. A useful discussion of the *Visio Wettini* in the wider context of medieval visionary literature is provided by J. Jurt, 'Frühmittelalterliche Visionsliteratur vor Dante: Walahfrid Strabos *Visio Wettini*', in D. Briesemeister and A. Schönberger (eds), *Ex nobili philologorum officio: Festschrift für Heinrich Bihler zu seinem 80. Geburtstag* (Berlin, Domus Editoria Europaea, 1998), pp. 25–45.
- ⁶⁸ Pollard, 'Nonantola', p. 245.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid.
- ⁷⁰ This was not recognised by Kottje and Wermter, *Bücherbesitz*, I.i, p. 100.
- ⁷¹ A. Molinier (ed.), *Catalogue general des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, vol. 17: Cambrai* (Paris, Librairie Plon, 1891), pp. 70–2 (C₁), 306–7 (C₂). See also Kottje and Wermter, *Bücherbesitz*, I.i, p. 100. My thanks go to the Médiathèque d'Agglomération de Cambrai, and particularly to Fabien Laforge, for their generous cooperation and support of my research.
- ⁷² A copy from the fifteenth century survives in V; see below, note 101.
- ⁷³ C₁, fol. 110r, lines 26 et seqq. Cf. Appendix 2.
- ⁷⁴ G. H. Gerould, 'The North-English Homily Collection: A Study of the Manuscript Relations and of the Sources of the Tales' (B. Litt dissertation, University of Oxford, 1902), pp. 27–31. The twenty-six manuscripts studied by Gerould are listed in *ibid.*, p. 26. I am very much indebted to Keith Busby for kindly pointing me towards Gerould's dissertation, as well as to a number of relevant texts not covered by the latter.
- ⁷⁵ Gerould, 'Homily Collection', p. 27.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid, pp. 27, 31.
- ⁷⁷ Note that Gerould refers to it as 'lib. xxv. cap. 89'; he seems to have derived this reference to the *Speculum Historiale* from Nicole Bozon, *Les contes moralisés*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith and P. Meyer (Paris, Didot, 1889), pp. 269–70. The majority of the manuscripts, by contrast, rubricated the book containing the story as Book 26.
- ⁷⁸ Nicole Bozon, *Les contes moralisés*, pp. 115. Also cf. G. C. Kratzmann and E. Gee (eds), *The Dialogues of Creatures Moralised: A Critical Edition* (Leiden, Brill, 1988).
- ⁷⁹ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford, OUP, 1998–2002), pp. 440–5 (hereafter *GRA*).
- ⁸⁰ *GRA*, I, p. 444: *Et simul cum dicto manum expandit tetricis notis inscriptam, in quibus Sathanas et omne inferorum satellitium gratias omni aecclesiastico cetui de Tartaro emittebant.*
- ⁸¹ *GRA*, I, p. 444: *Ista pro utilitate legentium me inseruisse non piguit.*
- ⁸² See the excellent study by S. O. Sønnesyn, *William of Malmesbury and the Ethics of History* (Woodbridge, Boydell, 2012).
- ⁸³ M. B. Merback, 'Channels of Grace: Pilgrimage Architecture, Eucharistic Imagery, and Visions of Purgatory at the Host-Miracle Churches of Late Medieval Germany', in S. Blick and R. Tekippe (eds), *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and England* (Leiden, Brill, 2004), p. 587–646. See also the various contributions to V. Smirnova, M.-A. Polo de Beaulieu and J. Berlioz (eds), *The Art of Cistercian Persuasion in the Middle Ages and Beyond: Caesarius of Heisterbach's "Dialogue on miracles" and its Reception* (Leiden, Brill, 2015). More generally, A. Angenendt, 'Das Wunder - religionsgeschichtlich und christlich', in A. Angenendt, S. Eck and H. Lutterbach (eds), *Die Gegenwart von Heiligen und Reliquien* (Münster, Aschendorff, 2010), pp. 65–88.
- ⁸⁴ Gerould, 'Homily Collection', p. 29. Note, however, that unlike MS Latin 182 and the texts of group B, the *Dialogus miraculorum* only fulfils three out of the five criteria established by Gerould; see *ibid.*, p. 31.
- ⁸⁵ N. A. Holtschuppen, 'Zur Gründungsgeschichte des Klosters St. Vitus in Mönchengladbach: Die Necrologeinträge für die Gründer Baldricus, Gero und Sandrad', in U. Ludwig and T. Schilp (eds), *Mittelalter an Rhein und Maas: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Niederrheins* (Münster, Waxmann, 2004), pp. 69–85.
- ⁸⁶ See J. Stratner, *Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungsgeschichte der Abtei München Gladbach im Mittelalter* (Mönchengladbach, Hütter, 1911), pp. 5–6. The Abbey of Gladbach and its territories continued to be viewed as valuable assets well into the fifteenth century, when they were contested and competed for repeatedly by both the diocesan bishops and local secular lords; see E.-U. Hammer, *Monastische Reform zwischen Person und Institution: Zum Wirken des Abtes Adam Meyer von Groß St. Martin in Köln (1454–1499)* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), p. 356.
- ⁸⁷ W. Brockers, *Mönchengladbachs historische Momente* (Books on Demand, 2016), pp. 58–9.
- ⁸⁸ On Cluny and its monastic exemption, see J.-F. Lemarignier, 'L'exemption monastique et les origines de la réforme grégorienne', in *A Cluny: Congrès scientifique, Fêtes et Cérémonies liturgiques en l'honneur des saints Abbés Odon et Odilon, 9-11 juillet 1949* (Dijon: Bernigaus, 1950), pp. 288–340. See also the introductory remarks

in J.-F. Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption et de juridiction ecclésiastique des abbayes normandes depuis les origines jusqu'en 1140* (Paris: Piccard, 1937). With regard to medieval Germany more specifically, see W. Szaivert, 'Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Klosterexemption bis zum Ausgang des 11. Jahrhunderts', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 59 (1951), 265–98. The topic of abbatial elections, see the recent study by S. Vanderputten, 'Abbatial Obedience, Liturgical Reform and the Threat of Monastic Autonomy at the Turn of the Twelfth Century', *Catholic Historical Review*, 96 (2012), 241–70.

⁸⁹ On the Reform of Siegburg, see principally J. Semmler, *Die Klosterreform von Siegburg: ihre Ausbreitung und ihr Reformprogramm im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (Bonn, Röhrscheid, 1959).

⁹⁰ Brockers, *Historische Momente*, p. 59.

⁹¹ See Kottje and Wermter, *Bücherbesitz*, I.i, pp. xxxi–xxxii. On Gladbach's *liber vitae*, see N. A. Holtschuppen, 'Siegburger "consuetudines" in Gladbach: das Gladbacher Totenbuch als Zeugnis klösterlicher Reform im frühen 12. Jahrhundert?', *Geschichte im Bistum Aachen*, 8 (2005), 31–79.

⁹² Bange and Löhr, 'Gladbach', p. 340.

⁹³ Kottje and Wermter, *Bücherbesitz*, I.i, p. xxxii.

⁹⁴ This has been studied recently by J. Hanska, 'From Historical Event to Didactic Story: Medieval Miracle Stories as a Means of Communication', in C. Krötzel and M. Tamminen (eds), *Changing Minds: Communication and Influence in the High and Later Middle Ages* (Rome, Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2013), pp. 87–106.

⁹⁵ S. MacLean, 'Recycling the Franks in Twelfth-Century England: Regino of Prüm, the Monks of Durham, and the Alexandrine Schism', *Speculum*, 87:3 (2012), 649–81.

⁹⁶ MacLean, 'Recycling the Franks', p. 678.

⁹⁷ K. Luttenkort, 'Beda hagiographicus: Meaning and Function of Miracle Stories in the *Vita Cuthberti* and the *Historia ecclesiastica*', in L. A. J. Houwen and A. A. MacDonald (eds), *Beda Venerabilis: Historian, Monk and Northumbrian* (Groningen, Forsten, 1996), pp. 81–106; B. Ward, 'Miracles and History: A Reconsideration of the Miracle Stories used by Bede', in B. Ward (ed.), *Signs and Wonders: Saints, Miracles and Prayers from the 4th Century to the 14th* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 1992), pp. 70–6. See also the studies referenced above, note 11.

⁹⁸ The standard catalogue entry is still that produced by A. G. R. Naumann, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Senatoria civitatis Lipsiensis asservantur* (Grimma, Julius Gebhardt, 1838), pp. 49–50 (= no. CLXV). See also T. Fuchs, *Handschriften und Urkunden der Stadtbibliothek Leipzig in der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig: Neuzugänge nach 1938* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2009), pp. 22–3; H. Gneuss and M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2014), p. 603. I would like to thank the Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig for their kind support and cooperation. The other German twelfth-century copy of the *Historia ecclesiastica* together with the *Continuatio Bedae* is Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS J. 45. Based on the information provided by F. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Katalog der Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden*, 2 vols (Leipzig, Teubner, 1883), II, pp. 26–7, this manuscript contains no additional texts, which might well indicate that it was designed as a stand-alone volume from the beginning. Unfortunately, I was unable to obtain reproductions of the manuscript due to its fragile state, so no firm proof can be given on this matter. I would nevertheless like to thank the Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dresden, and in particular Jana Kocourek, for their friendly correspondence.

⁹⁹ Cf. Naumann, *Catalogus*, p. 49, who refers to these miracles as 'Anonymi de septem mundi miraculis'. A study on this twelfth-century list of miracles as it survives in different sources is provided by G. McN. Rushford, 'Magister Gregorius de mirabilibus urbis Romae: a New Description of Rome in the Twelfth Century', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 9 (1919), 531–54. See also M. R. James, 'Magister Gregorius de mirabilibus urbis Romae', *English Historical Review*, 32:128 (1917), 531–54.

¹⁰⁰ L, fos 120v–124r. Cf. Naumann, *Catalogus*, pp. 49–50.

¹⁰¹ Academia Caesarea Vindobonensis (ed.), *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, 10 vols (1864–99), VII, 252. I would like to thank the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek for their kind cooperation. See also Westgard, 'Dissemination', pp. 38–9.

¹⁰² HEGA, pp. 6–7. Also cf. R. D. Ray, 'Bede's *Vera Lex Historiae*', *Speculum*, 55:1 (1980), 1–21. See also Pohl, 'Orderic Vitalis and Cultural Memory', pp. 344–5, with specific reference to both Bede and Isidore's understanding of history.

¹⁰³ In writing this conclusion, I benefited greatly from the conversations that followed my paper 'Bede's Friends and Imitators among the Anglo-Norman Historians', presented at the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 2012, in a series of sessions called 'Bede's Friends and Enemies' sponsored by the University of Leicester. I am particularly grateful for the comments by Peter Darby, who had organised these sessions.

¹⁰⁴ GRA, I, p. 14: *Ita praetermissis a tempore Bedae ducentis et viginti et tribus annis, quos iste nulla memoria dignatus est, absque litterarum patrocinio claudicat cursus temporum in medio.*

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.: *Res Anglorum gestas Beda, vir maxime doctus et minime superbus, ab adventu eorum in Britanniam usque ad suos dies plano et suavi sermone absolvit: post eum non facile, ut arbitror, reperies qui historiis illius gentis Latina oratione texendis animum dederit.*

¹⁰⁶ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People*, ed. D. E. Greenway (Oxford, OUP, 1996), pp. 4–6: *Haec ergo considerans, huius regni gesta et nostra gentis origines iussu tuo, praesul Alexander, qui flos et cacumen regni et gentis esse videris, decurrenda suscepi: tuo quidem consilio Bedae Venerabilis ecclesiasticam, qua potui, secutus Historiam, nonnulla etiam ex aliis excerpens auctoribus, inde chronica in antiquis reservata librariis compilans, usque nostrum ad auditum et visum praeterita repraesentavi.* ‘What is not to be found in Bede’, Henry writes apologetically, ‘I have learned from other authors’, *ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁰⁷ Greenway, ‘Henry of Huntingdon and Bede’, p. 43.

¹⁰⁸ See S. Crumplin, ‘Modernizing St Cuthbert: Reginald of Durham’s Miracles Collection’, in K. M. Cooper and J. Gregory (eds), *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church* (Woodbridge, Boydell, 2005), pp. 179–91. See also W. A. Woodward, ‘Reginald and Geoffrey of Durham: The Writing of History and Hagiography in Twelfth-Century Northumbria’ (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1992).

¹⁰⁹ Webber, ‘Source of Lections’, pp. 59–60. In one of the Peterborough manuscripts (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 163), the text was collated against the *Historia ecclesiastica*’s ‘m-type recension’ in order to incorporate the additional Oswald miracle in Book IV. I am grateful to Webber for this information.